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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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PART I
CHRISTIAN HISTORY IN OUTLINE

PREFACE

A COMPENDIUM of church history seeks to include in condensed form all the facts and details that could be compressed within such limits. This volume, in distinction, aims to help the beginner to a deeper appreciation of Christianity and to a better understanding of the Christianity of to-day by tracing out the path by which it has come.

In Part I the writer presents the significant individuals, events, and movements in such a manner that the perspective of the history may not be lost in the mass of details. The problem here is both that of omission and of emphasis. Omissions are justified in that this study is an introduction, through which it is hoped to create such interest in this fascinating field as will lead to further and more intensive reading.

Part II departs from the traditional plan of a mere chronicle of events under the usual outline of ancient, mediæval, and modern. Instead it offers a series of studies of different aspects of Christianity as seen in its historical development. The significant institutions of the church, the special aspects of its life and thought, the manifold influences bearing upon it, and the moral and spiritual forces it set in motion, are separately studied and each followed in its movement through the centuries. Church history takes on vital interest as we trace the varied currents that have flowed down to shape and mold the Christianity that we have to-day.

It is hardly necessary to say that the author has written with the conviction that the history of the church is a part of the one great stream of human life. It has its divine origin, its divine guidance, its divine meaning, yet it is never shut off from the common life in which it moves and of which it is a part. In its thought, its activities, and its institutional forms it has been most intimately influenced by the life about it and in this larger setting it must always be studied.

To give adequate acknowledgment to all the writers whose works have been utilized in the preparation of this book is manifestly impossible. Copyrighted material which is quoted is used by permission of the publishers of the same.[1] The editors of the *Methodist Review,* New York, and the *Methodist Quarterly Review,* Nashville, have kindly allowed the author to use portions of articles contributed by him.

Among those who have read parts of the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions and criticisms are Professors F. C. Eiselen, W. D. Schermerhorn, I. G. Whitchurch, J. T. Carlyon, Frederick Cramer, W. W. Sweet, and H. A. Ehrensperger. Special acknowledgment is due to Professor H. F. Rall, who has read the entire manuscript and given constant encouragement.

A. W. N.

Evanston, Ill.

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[1] The publishing houses are: B. Herder Book Co., Saint Louis, Mo.; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston; The Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia; The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND THE VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY

A. THE NATURE OF CHURCH HISTORY

HISTORY is a record and an interpretation of the thought, action, and achievement of men in association. It is based upon records which are not equally reliable. Some of these records were written or prepared with a conscious historical purpose, such as annals, monuments, and biographies. Others, such as decrees, creeds, and contracts, were prepared with no such end in view. All of them must be utilized by the historian in his attempt to weave a connected narrative. The evidence at his disposal must be carefully weighed, the interpretation of the facts must be unprejudiced and fair, and the conclusions drawn logical and cogent.

Since this ideal is not always reached, the student must act as judge when reading history. Dependent as we are upon human witnesses and upon human interpretations—both fallible and perhaps prejudiced—the highest degree of probability is all that can be expected. When rightly used the subject becomes more than a mere chronicle of past events, a heaping up of dry dates and meaningless, disconnected episodes. It becomes a palpitating, living organism, a dynamic unfolding of a world drama.

The term "church history" needs to be defined because of the strange veil of sanctity and exclusiveness sometimes cast over the subject. In the broader sense it is that part of the general history of mankind which deals primarily with the rise and development of the movement known as Christianity and its relation to its environment. Economic, social, political strands, and threads from the world of art, letters, and science must be woven into the narrative because the church cannot be regarded as something apart from life as it is lived in all its phases. In a narrow sense we have the history of an institution which manifested itself through the centuries in certain definite forms. In a larger sense we must include men and movements outside the church because of their direct influence upon the Christian Church or because of the church's influence upon them. A comprehensive treatment will thus include such movements as Neo-Platonism and Mohammedanism, and such individuals as Attila, Darwin, and Gandhi.

Furthermore, the church may be regarded in an inclusive and in an exclusive sense. According to the first conception, stressed generally by the Roman Catholics and modern liberals, the institution is for all, saints and sinners, a training school for moral and spiritual uplift. According to the latter view, it is distinctly a congregation of saints; that is, a company of believers, converted individuals.

Again, it may be viewed, not as an end, but as an agency to bring in the kingdom of God. Here the church is one, the most important, if you will, among a number of institutions, all of which—the school, the family, the state, industry—must be deemed sacred in the sense that they are human and divine forms established to lead men into the larger life. Are they not with us to help create in ever-increasing measure the social order where God's will shall be done as it is in heaven? This view takes away from the church, not its divine character, but some of the old-time sanctities which have become attached to it. A net gain is registered by the inclusion of factors which the older view failed to appreciate. With this in mind, we can say that the most unsanctified thing on earth is a church which does not function, which lives for self and fails to serve humanity.

Another point of departure allows us to present church history in varying aspects depending upon the emphasis, whether upon forms, thought, or ethical practice. In the first instance we have a history of institutions and customs established and accepted by the church, such as the sacraments, the liturgy, and the polity. In the second, the intellectual expressions and formulations are emphasized which often issued in creeds and confessional statements, together with the repudiation of heretical tendencies by what is known as orthodoxy. In the third, Christianity is regarded as a way of life. The more external, practical interests come to the front, such as Christian activities directed toward the amelioration of human suffering, charities, hospitals, manumission of slaves, the problem of war, and other social concerns.

B. THE VALUE OF CHURCH HISTORY

What is the value of this study? Dare it demand attention? Can it justify its existence on the basis of its usefulness? If to this be given an affirmative answer, we ought seriously to consider whether the church is giving adequate consideration to its great historic past.

It is taken for granted that the patriotic citizen should be familiar with the history of his country. Such knowledge makes for better citizenship, for greater stability in government, and for a more harmonious communal life. It is *not* taken for granted that a member of the church should be acquainted with the history of the Christian movement; yet such information would make him not only a more useful member to his own denomination but a mightier factor in the building of the kingdom of God. A knowledge of the wider and deeper interests of this kingdom is an effective antidote to narrow sectarianism and bigoted partisanship. Consequently, teaching merely the history of one's own denomination, however important, is inadequate. It must be supplemented by the broader outlook to make even the limited field appear in its correct historical perspective. Such knowledge, based upon accurate and sympathetic historical research and not presented for purposes of party or sect, ought to lead to some, if not all, of the following results.

1. It ought to furnish a more just appraisal of the Founder of the church. The full significance of the life and work of Jesus Christ cannot be exhaustively revealed within the limits of the New Testament. The "power of an endless life" transcends the bounds of a brief human life. It can be understood, its influence duly weighed, only after succeeding ages have contributed of their rich lore to the common treasury. As we note the marvelous mystic touch of the Christ, not only upon his immediate disciples and followers, but also upon an Origen, an Augustine, a Saint Francis, a Luther, a Tolstoy, a Gandhi, we begin to sense the real meaning of that life which has been the source of more faith, hope, and love than any other. Nineteen centuries of Christian history, in the broadest sense, are needed to portray the fullness of the stature of the Christ, for we do not know a man thoroughly until we compute as best we can all the power that has gone out from his life. In the case of Jesus especially we must ask, "What did he cause his disciples to say and to do; how did he affect the life of his followers down the centuries; what forces did he set in motion?"

2. Church history not only completes the New Testament, a continuation of the Acts of the Apostles, so to speak, but to the Old Testament also it bears a distinct parallel. Everyone concedes the

value of an intensive study of the Old Testament because of its general importance and its uniqueness as a piece of religious literature. Equally important is its relation to the greatest event in history, the coming of Christ. But who would care to claim that the preparation for the Master in the religious and national history of the Hebrew race is of more vital interest to the Christian and to the world at large than the subsequent development and extension of that most marvelous movement of all time, of which he was the Founder and for the establishment of which he gave his life-blood? If we were to draw two lines of about equal length representing respectively the Jewish period B. C. and the Christian period A. D. with Christ separating them, the following items on the basis of fact might be listed:

B. C. A. D.
——————— Christ ———————
(1) (2)

Line two is as important as line one. With Christ as a fact in the lives of men and not merely as a fond dream of Messianic hope, we might even consider it of greater import. However that may be, it is only fair that our thought and attention be divided equally between the two. But what do we find? Everywhere, in church schools and at institutes, courses and talks are often arranged on the basis of the importance of line one and the nonexistence of line two.

This state of affairs is tragic because it fails to open up one great avenue of approach to Christ. It is unwise policy in its failure to employ an effective method to bind people more firmly, because more intelligently, to Christ's cause. It can only be justified on the ground of the dictation theory of biblical inspiration associated with the conception that God's revelation was exhausted with the New Testament writers. In fact, it is just that mechanical notion of revelation which has given us the one-sided emphasis. It is time that the church wakes up to the situation. To quote a respected authority, T. R. Glover, "It is a drawback to religion that Christians, Catholic and Protestant, are so inattentive to history. In religion, and not least in a religion that avowedly rests upon a historic personality, such an attitude of inattention is inexcusable and . . . fatal."

3. Furthermore, history serves as a corrective. When a person realizes that man with his wants and aspirations, his trials and temptations and instincts, has remained much the same through the period of recorded history, he sees that he can obtain considerable help from the experiences of his fellow men. Although history does not necessarily repeat itself, and despite the fact that a blessing to one age may become the curse of the next, it is safe to assume that moral blunders and ethical derelictions and religious superstitions have proven a bane to every age. One of the best preventives of a repetition of past mistakes is to be forewarned, and thus forearmed, by a study of the facts of history.

If worldliness threatens, consult the age of Constantine. If officialism looms in the offing, look up the mediæval church. If a narrow, bigoted religiosity usurps the throne, read about the religious wars of the Reformation era. If the Inquisition appears in a new garb, become acquainted with the arch inquisitor, Torquemada, and listen as the Jews relate their heartrending story of martyrdom at the hands of the church. If the fundamentalist-modernist controversy threatens a new split in Protestantism, reflect upon the orgy of sectarian divisions of modern times. If a protest against a crying evil goes too far, it merely illustrates a law of history that results are usually obtained by an exaggerated emphasis. The pendulum of historic movements swings to extremes. Again the lesson appears beneath the surface as suggested by Macaulay: "He alone reads history aright, who, observing how powerfully circumstances influence the feelings and opinions of men, how often vices pass into virtues, and paradoxes into axioms, learns to distinguish what is accidental and transitory in human nature from what is essential and immutable."

4. In the next place, the stabilizing influence of history is not to be despised. When foundations are rocking, institutions crumbling, conventions weakening, new and seemingly destructive tendencies rapidly spreading, the archives of the past are at our disposal to aid us in the important task of transforming an atmosphere of gloom and despair into one of cheer and hope. Other ages had similar experiences and lived through them. Are we going into a new Dark Age? It need not presage the end of civilization, though it might lead to its temporary eclipse. Do we hear of direful portents? We need not be afraid, for such prophecies have frequently been made and the world has moved on. Are we deluged with new customs, modes, and ideas? Perhaps we are witnessing the birthpangs of a new order. History shows the futility of displaying the red signal at every attempt to change things as they are. Over a long period it teaches that progressive evolution comes through constructive revolution. Changes in forms, group habits, and practices sometimes build the ladder by which we rise; the stupid desire to maintain the old under all circumstances often leads to stagnation and disaster.

Amid the kaleidoscopic changes of our complex civilized life we may stand firm in the compelling faith that chaos will not win the race; that religion may become sufficiently potent to curb the vaunting ambitions of power and sublimate the fighting urge and the acquisitive instinct of men. Is it possible to reach that desired goal? The cynic and the pessimist say no. The moral optimist, grounded in history, hopefully declares for the affirmative, provided that man shuns not the struggle, strives to get an intelligent grasp of the facts, and strengthens his hold upon the Eternal. In the past insuperable barriers have been removed in just that way. To-day it is as true as ever—

"It matters not how deep intrenched the wrong,
How hard the battle goes, the day, how long;
Faint not, fight on! To-morrow comes the song."

5. Stability is a much desired good; the ancient Greek ideal of balance and moderation is a valuable asset; to keep our heads while contending forces whirl about us is essential. Equally necessary is it to have our hearts set aflame with a consuming passion. A vitalizing enthusiasm is the need of the hour. A smug, self-complacent attitude toward life dominates too much of our thinking. The kindling devotion and rapturous emotion of the saints, martyrs, and prophets of the church furnish a spiritual dynamo where we may recharge our own lagging currents of zeal. One of the best tonics for a run-down church is a dose of persecution. Lacking that the next best thing is a vicarious equivalent to be found in reading of heroic martyrs of more perilous days. This may bring courage to the individual who, even to-day, must face peril and persecution when he actually goes the whole way with Christ.

What is more inspiring than the magnificent courage of Bishop Ambrose in calling the great Emperor Theodosius to account; the bold stand of Leo I against the foreign invaders of Italy; the thrilling life battle of Hildebrand against the foes of the church; the winsome love service of Saint Francis; the daring ventures of Roger Bacon into realms forbidden; the challenging crusade of Luther; the marvelously effective spiritual renaissance wrought by Loyola;

the aggressive Christian rescue work of General Booth; the throbbing humanitarian passion of the social prophets of recent times! Walking and talking with these flaming evangels of the Cause fires the heart with new zeal and consecration.

6. In a day when so much nonsense is being uttered about creeds as archaic, and doctrine as superfluous, time is not wasted which is devoted to a study of their genetic history. As a matter of fact, no doctrine can be given its just place in the scheme of things until its history is known. No one has a right to talk on creeds who is unacquainted with their rise and development. Because of her defective system of training, the church is partly responsible for the woeful ignorance of her members on this matter. To speak intelligently on this delicate subject a sympathetic approach from the side of history is a requisite. After the acquisition of this knowledge one may not be able as valiantly as formerly to espouse certain specific doctrines, but the interests of truth will have gained.

Another matter of present concern relates to the prevalence of heretical outbreaks. The vitality and aggressiveness of these tangential movements need not cause us much worry when we reflect upon two facts. One is that a number of these are nothing more than discredited ancient heresies in modern garb. Christian Science on this basis may be called a modern Gnosticism. The other fact reveals the final overthrow or gradual disappearance of a number of heresies after they had run their course. The truth embedded in some of these, however, often vouchsafes for them a long period of activity, despite extravagant and superstitious accretions. The lesson of history undoubtedly lends itself to an appreciation of that kernel of truth. It likewise impels us to acknowledge our debt to many of the so-called heretics, some of whom were prophets of a larger vision.

7. A further consideration deals with a phenome-

non in the Orient which not only puzzles but alarms a good many Christians. The reference is to the repudiation of certain features of organized Christianity which we of the West have long held to be essential. A writer in India, for instance, after making a distinction between the Christ of Christendom and the Jesus of the gospel, concludes, "The former they (the people of India) will not touch, but the latter is drawing them more and more." Again historical knowledge comes to the rescue, for on the basis of history alone can this peculiar situation be understood. Close study reveals the fact that Christianity arose in the Orient, gradually assumed one Western feature after another in its long journey westward, until it appeared in western Europe and in America as a Westernized product. We may now speak of Americanized Christianity. If we exalt the virtues of our Westernized Oriental religion, how can we object when Orientals seek to naturalize a faith which, though universal, had its birth in an Oriental atmosphere? Our matter-of-fact type of Christianity, however valuable because aggressive, does not exhaust the content of our faith. History registers a protest against any attempt which seeks to force one peculiar type of our universal religion upon a people unable to understand that peculiar type. The very genius of our religion demands that we say to them, "Take Jesus, and think through, work out, and agonize for an expression of your faith which will be perfectly adaptable to your peculiar conditions of living and temper of mind. That is your divine privilege, but do not overlook the vast historical background of this historic religion!"

8. In addition to what has been mentioned, the field of church history should be regarded as a veritable gold mine of sermonic material. Apt illustrations and gripping tales to fit any turn of thought may be had for the seeking. Sometimes an incident

or a reference from history will enforce an argument better than the citation of a contemporary occurrence. To prove the statement that righteousness exalteth a nation recourse must be had to history. Even texts may be found there, on the assumption that God's revelation did not stop with the year 100 A. D. A glowing passage from Augustine's *Confessions,* from Tauler's sermons, from Taylor's *Holy Living,* from Newman's *Apologia,* or from other inspirational works, might occasionally be used with effect. Some ministers draw freely from this inexhaustible fund to the invigoration and effectiveness of their pulpit work.

Enough has been suggested to demonstrate the value of a study of history in the promotion of culture, broadmindedness, and toleration. It is a most effective antidote to provincialism. A Catholic scholar, Bishop Shahan, wisely suggests that a Christian ought to learn "a broader, more discriminating charity from the sight of so much human weakness, so much discrepancy between graces and deeds, office and conduct, the 'fair outside and foul within.' "[1] This knowledge will effectively take off the sharp edge of criticisms leveled at the church and its history. No institution is perfect. The individuals who compose it determine that. History warns us of the dangers involved in the old Hebrew notion that God will miraculously keep a race or institution intact and pure irrespective of the lives and the ideals of the persons who constitute that race or institution.

From the foregoing considerations it appears obvious that a disconnected, isolated movement or church, dedicated solely to its own present and immediate interests, is doomed to failure. If for no other reason than for the selfish one of their preservation, the churches must attend to their historic continuity, must preserve the rich heritage bequeathed to them by the past, and must take more definite measures to acquaint their adherents with the larger aspects of the life of Christ as revealed during the Christian centuries.

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[1] Quoted from Peter Guilday, *An Introduction to Church History,* p. 102. B. Herder Book Company, Saint Louis, Mo.

CHAPTER II

THE WORLD INTO WHICH CHRISTIANITY CAME

CHRISTIANITY did not come into an empty world. The ancient world had its religious aspirations and spiritual satisfactions. It is true, some of the old ethnic cults, among them the religion of the lordly Romans, were in a decadent state, but other cults arose to meet the needs of the personal life. The new, vigorous cult arising in Judæa met others equally alive. Besides these, it came into intimate contact with a widespread culture; it came under the spell of a magnificent creation of law and government; it discovered in the centers of learning a compelling desire for unity amid the complex surging forces of life. A brief study of the background in its Jewish, Greek, Roman aspects with its Mystery cults and Oriental influences together with the astrological and syncretistic tendencies, will serve to reveal the significance of this environment.

If we were to picture each of these forces or tendencies as a colored ray of light shining upon the world, the resultant color would be a mixture of many. Then when the pure rays of Christianity came to shine upon this multicolored complex we would have, not a continuation of the original light, but one plainly colored after the blending process had continued for a time. As a matter of fact, a strict regard for truth compels us to regard even that original light ray emanating from the Holy Land as a colored ray, due to the Jewish elements entering into its creation.

A. The Jewish World

The Jewish factors constituted the most immediate background, and for that reason deserve our first consideration. Jesus was a Jew. His religious contribution must be weighed with that in mind. The expansion of the movement which he founded meant the incorporation of numerous "foreign" elements, but in its origin this is not so marked. Coming to life through the Jewish channel, the Christian religion found at hand certain notable and profound religious conceptions and practices which immediately became part of it. We might say that the Jewish environment proved to be good soil for the tender plant of Christianity; or that the Jewish tree gave evidence of real life in sending forth a new sprout, a sprout which came from the parent tree, was like it, yet different.

1. Monotheism. First and foremost comes the belief in one God—good, spiritual, universal Deity. This mighty faith in an ethical monotheism, gradually and laboriously wrought out through anguish of heart and bitter experience, guided by the inspired prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ, was a tremendous asset in the spiritual progress of this remarkable race. Jesus accepted and ennobled and enlarged this concept of God. Making the Jehovah of the Jews its own, the young church institution began its race for universal conquest mightily equipped.

2. The Hebrew Scriptures. The acceptance of and possessive interest in the Hebrew Scriptures (later called the Old Testament), regarded as an inspired book of God's revelation, was likewise of immense service. In an age when authority was taken for granted, even magnified, a religious book stamped with divine approval could be used with telling effect. Standing upon this book, with its story of hoary an-

tiquity, its authentic message of God's will and purpose, the early church could without difficulty repel charges of novelty and recent origin. The demands of historic continuity could easily be met.

3. Stern Morality. Moral sanctions were not much in evidence in the Græco-Roman world of the first century. Some cults found it easy to separate morality and religion; the tendencies in that direction were correspondingly strong and alluring. Imagine temples dedicated to religion in which immoral practices became a definite part of the ceremonial. All the more needed were the heroic efforts of the Jews to inculcate a strenuous morality, an uncompromising ethic not only among the Jews themselves, but also among numerous Gentiles who felt strangely drawn toward the stern cult.

4. Future Life. A definite teaching about the future life was another message eagerly awaited by the multitude. Although the Old Testament teaching on this subject was meager, a more precise and unequivocal enunciation during the intertestamental period gladdened the hearts of the people. With the exception of the Sadducean party, the Jews spoke with no uncertain sound. Here again, Christianity inherited a vitalizing conception, giving it a new content and a richer meaning.

5. Messianic Hope. The prophecy of a coming Deliverer who would establish the kingdom of God was another harbinger of better things to come. The common people especially, downtrodden and persecuted, were buoyed up with a new sense of the worth of their own personalities. Now they might be despised —when the Saviour-King came they would be given their due. Christianity was able to capitalize this hope to the full in presenting the actual Messiah. The prophets had declared for a social order which ever since has been a cherished vision among seers and saints. A peculiar class of literary tracts for hard

times, known to us as the apocalyptic writings, painted in glowing colors the glories of this imminent kingdom.

6. Angelology and Demonology. Belief in the reality and the prevalence of demons and angels was practically universal. The whole Mediterranean world regarded insane persons as demon-possessed, saw demons in the shrines of rival religious cults, and felt their harmful presence on all occasions. On the other hand, those who lived a good and faithful life received the aid of ministering spirits. The spirit world, in fact, was as real as the material world is to us.

7. The Dispersion. The great religious concepts of the Jewish race were not limited to Palestine. The dispersion of this race over the ancient world, the Diaspora, to give it its usual name, brought untold numbers of Gentiles into intelligent contact with the creative thinking of a people gifted with religious genius. One significant result was that the Jewish synagogue became the training school for the dispersed race, serving as a substitute for the Temple at Jerusalem in the lives of many of the four million Jews living in scattered colonies and many cities outside Palestine. Among the first converts to Christianity were many who had accepted the Jewish faith (proselytes of righteousness) or had been attracted by its noble teaching and high ethical demands (God-fearers).

8. Palestinian Judaism. While the Jews of the dispersion were coming into contact with wider currents of thought in the Roman Empire, their brethren in the "home land," less touched by Hellenistic and Oriental speculations, represented a purer though possibly not a better type of Judaism.

The groups or parties which represented the ideas and aspirations of the majority were the Pharisees and the Sadducees, both mentioned in the New Testament. The former, together with the scribes, interpreters of the law, became the real religious leaders. The latter constituted the political ruling party, evidencing little interest in the spiritual life of the people. The high priest, chosen from an hereditary priestly class, headed up the hierarchy, while important questions were debated and decided by the Sanhedrin. Legalistic ecclesiasticism seemed to rule in Jerusalem with the Temple as its center. Outside of the Holy City and among the Jews of the Diaspora the synagogue became the center of prayer, worship, and guidance, where the heart was nourished by simple religious rites and the mind and will directed by the interpretation of the law and the prophets.

A third and smaller group known as the Zealots advocated drastic and immediate action for the attainment of national freedom. Other isolated groups, given to mystical expression, like the Essenes, nourished a simple piety, and were not much concerned about legalistic niceties. Weakness and defects were present in the Jewish religion, but a discussion of these will be reserved for Chapter IV.

B. The Roman World

One of the most significant factors which Christianity encountered at its very birth was the Roman Empire. Pilate, the temporal judge of Jesus, represented the Eternal City in the Holy City. Having been under the sway of successive empires, Palestine fell at last into the clutches of Rome in the year 63 B. C. Into a vast empire, comprising all lands of three continents bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea, Rome projected ideals of unity, uniformity, and universality previously lacking. Law, human enactment and the higher law of nature, and government, stable and dependable, became the possession of many races. Remote sections began to feel that they belonged to something worth while, being bound to the center by the ties of a common interest. It meant much to the church that the world in which it was to conduct its first campaign was in a state of peace, regulated by law and governed with skill. In the very first days of missionary expansion the apostolic heralds had reason to be thankful for the great military roads that led to the strategic centers. Equally grateful were they for protection under legal process when unruly mobs endangered their lives. Wesley, in his early travels, found eighteenth-century England less accessible and less protected by law. Periods of persecution in the early church, however, tended to neutralize the benefits received at other more propitious times.

1. The State Religion. The Roman background cannot be viewed without reference to the state religion, especially its peculiar expression in emperor-worship. The religion of the Romans was symbolic of their character, a calculating contract with the gods, these usually having been borrowed from the Greeks. Like everything else, it was tied up with the state, the Pontifex Maximus being a high state official. In an earlier time it may have satisfied the people but in the days of the empire this matter-of-fact religious formalism showed signs of decay. Religious emotion was lacking, the personal touch of the individual with Deity was wanting, and the polytheistic doctrine in which religion was grounded was being undermined by philosophic thought.

In order to create a more passionate religious devotion, the Emperor Augustus revived a religious ceremony known as the deification of the state. The revived form was called emperor-worship. By means of appropriate rites the genius or spirit of the ruler, who was held to be an embodiment of the state, was worshiped. Adoration was to be accorded his statue as to a god. Manifestly this widespread religion was also an act of patriotic devotion. Hence Christians who refused to burn incense to Cæsar's statue found themselves regarded as unpatriotic.

Other attempts to revive the old religion, such as that of the famous Plutarch, 120 A. D., failed because they did not supply sufficient religious dynamic, though a noble moralism was stressed. Many were consequently prepared to listen to voices, authoritative and often seductive, coming from the East. The most potent of these, as we shall see, outside of Christianity, was Mithraism.

2. Moral and Social Conditions. Where morality is not sufficiently undergirded by religion, lax conditions of life are likely to obtain. Although recent research has tended to mitigate the indictment of traditional thought as regards the abysmal depths of first-century social life, sufficient evidence remains to substantiate Paul's terrible judgments as found in Romans 1. Generalizations can only approximate the truth, hence appraisals of general conditions of living among the Roman populace must be taken with some reserve. And yet what can we expect of a civilization founded upon the institution of slavery? The masters of men accounted their slaves as little more than animated machinery. What made matters worse was that both were frequently of the same race; in some instances, as in the tradition regarding Epictetus the Stoic, the slave far surpassed his master in mind and soul. This ugly situation was aggravated by loose moral relations between the two classes.

The stability of the family was threatened. Woman's position became more insecure, while children were often involved in general neglect. The rich became richer and the poor poorer. Inordinate luxury sapped the vitality of the upper classes. The maladjusted economic order, militarism, farming out of taxes, and other social and economic evils increased the pauper class to an alarming extent, threatening the foundations of the empire. Under able rulers, like those of the second century, ruin was warded off for a time, but embedded in the social body the moral cancer wrought its work of destruction slowly but inexorably. Morally Rome was in need of a vitalizing religion that made stern ethical demands. Christianity came too late to save the Roman Empire and was perhaps too little inclined to deal directly with social problems to make the needed transformation.

C. THE GREEK WORLD

Through the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greek thought spread over the East. At the beginning of the Christian era the West had received a full measure of this ferment. Although Christianity came directly out of Judaism, at its very birth it went into an environment of thought and ideas largely shaped by this Hellenistic molding process. What culture there was had its chief origin in Greece or in the newer Hellenistic centers like Alexandria in Africa. Philosophy and science, art and literature, all were tinged with or created by the marvelous Greek genius.

1. Philosophy. To become familiar with this background of the church we must go back to the great thinkers of the fifth century B. C. and following. After a number of attempts by the earlier philosophers to get at the primal essence of the universe, Socrates arose to turn the attention upon man himself. He, with his greater successors, Plato and Aristotle, delved deeply into the mysteries of the soul, of God, and of the future. Socrates stressed right knowledge which leads to virtue. Plato envisioned the world of ideas, eternal and abiding above the passing world of phenomena, the source of all that is

good. Aristotle placed greater emphasis upon the scientific apprehension of this world. Although philosophic thinking declined after their day, the thought content and methods adopted were not lost, and their influence upon the church during certain periods was most marked.

After these giants of thought, a number of schools arose to interpret life to the individual and to guide him to the highest practical good. The first "Don't Worry" club, Epicureanism, gave an answer, which, because of its hedonistic view of life, was not to have much contact with the church. This cannot be said of the other school, founded by Zeno about 264 B. C., and called Stoicism. In this noble system of thought and ethical endeavor not happiness but duty under the guidance of divine reason was considered the chief aim of life, to the attainment of which a strenuous morality and a self-denying attitude was essential. God is in this whole life-process, his divine logos interpenetrating the universe and inspiring all human action. In harmony with him (regarded as impersonal), supremacy over the lower propensities is gained, brotherhood is established, and salvation won. In this latter emphasis Stoicism became essentially a religion to its devotees, notable among whom were the Roman Seneca, contemporary of Saint Paul, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (d. 180).

2. Science, Art, and Literature. In other fields also the Greek mind shone resplendent. The method and standards set by Aristotle, Phidias, Praxiteles, Sophocles, Demosthenes, and others became authoritative for the peoples of the Mediterranean world. The Romans, for instance, were compelled to borrow wholesale in the establishment of their rhetorical schools. Greek sculpture and styles of art and architecture furnished the church with models and ideals. Even more important, from the Christian point of

view, was the remarkable Greek language. It offered at once a universal tongue and an unsurpassed vehicle of expression for the gospel message. Although Latin was widely used, it was primarily for governmental purposes. It never became the language of culture and could never have lent itself, like the Greek, to the finer shades of meaning in metaphysical speculation.

This contribution of a gift for the deepest thinking on ultimate problems and a language marvelously adapted to convey these thoughts was to be of inestimable advantage to Christianity. However, we cannot fail to register that the value of this rich legacy was partly neutralized by the hyper-speculative and dogmatizing mood which the Greek brought into the church. Of this we shall find abundant evidence in later chapters. But the gains accruing from a comprehensive view of life, from the humanistic spirit, from a world-affirming ethic, are not to be discounted.

D. The World of the Mystery Cults

Before the beginning of the Christian era the Mediterranean world began to be overrun by a number of religious cults, mostly Oriental, which promised individuals those personal satisfactions many failed to find in their own racial or ethnic faiths. The most prominent of these were: Isis and Osiris (Serapis), coming from Egypt; Magna Mater (Great Mother) from Asia Minor; the Eleusinian Mysteries from Greece; Mithraism from Persia and Asia Minor. The last named became the outstanding rival of the church during the third century.

The elements more or less common to all of these cults were: secret rites of initiation, a magical baptism which cleansed from sin, intimate contact with a deity who brings salvation, personal immortality gained through the mystic rites of the cult, a common meal of fellowship, and gradations among the faithful. In addition to this sacramental emphasis, Mithraism inculcated a strenuous morality, and for this reason has been acclaimed by some scholars the purest of all non-biblical religions. This energetic, missionary Persian cult offered all these redemptive features in the most pronounced degree. Although we may not agree with Renan that the world would have become Mithraistic had Christianity received a mortal wound; nor with Wissowa, that in the third century Mithraism was the strongest religion in the western Roman Empire; nor with Dupuis, that the religion of Christ was a sort of Mithraic heresy, there is no doubt that this Oriental cult made a tremendous appeal to the ancient world. Its final decay and disappearance after a long and brilliant career affords a fascinating subject for investigation.[1]

The important fact in our study is the presence in the world at the advent of Jesus Christ of a number of virile cults which depended upon personal conviction for converts, offering salvation to all who accepted the doctrines and participated in the mystic sacraments, and supplying the means whereby fellowship with like-minded persons and immortality with the gods might be obtained. In other words, they professed to meet a real need; they filled what might have become a religious void; they promised salvation from sin in this world and blessed immortality with the gods in the world to come.

E. ASTROLOGY AND SYNCRETISM

More widespread than any single religion was the superstitious belief of the majority of people in astrological forecasting. The heavenly bodies, it was taught, affected the course of human events, and human beings were in a position to discover what that influence was and how evil portents and omens might be transformed into propitious auspices. Although astrological deductions tended to turn people away from idolatry and toward nobler beliefs, despite the fatalistic conceptions in which they were bound, yet a vast amount of superstition and quackery easily became associated with this reading of the constellations.

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[1] See Chapter IV.

Another phenomenon peculiar to this period was the persistent attempt on the part of some thinkers to unite into one harmonious system seemingly dissimilar ideas and religions. The best was taken from different sources, brought together, perchance arbitrarily, into a unified scheme of things, and lo! you had the quintessence of thought and life. In increasing numbers the thinking classes began to follow the suggestive theories of Plutarch that the various names given to the gods were merely local and racial appellations of that which was universal. This ancient Bahai system was one of the contributing agencies in the development and temporary success of that peculiar hodge-podge known as Gnosticism. Consistency was often sacrificed in the attempt to create an all-inclusive religious economy.

F. SUMMARY

We have seen how erroneous it is to suppose that the world was in a state of mental and religious stagnation at the beginning of the Christian era. The stirring conflict of religions in this vast area, the criss-cross waves of different types of thinking, the willingness to accept any new form provided it offered some help, and the deep needs which not all of these together could satisfy, all served to create what has been called "the fullness of time" for the advent of the religion of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH

THE story of Jesus Christ and the rise of the institution which bore his name are the most remarkable phenomena in all religious history. Beginning in an obscure province of the Roman Empire, this offshoot of Judaism boldly challenged the world of its day, despite the fact that it was early proscribed and widely ridiculed. With a magnificent faith in its divine mission it set forth to capture the religious aspirations, to win the intellect, and to utilize the organizing genius of the ancient world. By a process of attraction and of incorporation, the church gradually fashioned out of an original Hebrew religious faith a Greek theology and a Roman organization. In a way it became all things to all men in order that it might win them.

A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Details regarding the rise of the church are veiled in some obscurity because the oldest records which we have were written nearly a generation after the death of Jesus. The books of the New Testament constitute the chief source of information. Although written largely for devotional purposes, their general reliability has not seriously been shaken by critical analysis. They contain the only authentic record of the life of Jesus and of the early days of the church. Since they are so largely interpretative in nature, modern scholarship has sought to separate the historical facts from the explanations of the writers. We have enough information to construct a faithful picture of Jesus and an authentic description in rough outline of the founding of the church.

By a sure religious instinct these writings were collected by the church and, after some hesitation about a number of them, given full canonical standing with the books of the Old Testament. The Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and possibly some other books were for a time used as Scripture but were finally rejected. The formation of the New Testament canon,[1] a development of the second century, though not complete until the fourth, gave the struggling church a definite sacred norm with which to combat heresy and to regulate its teaching.

Other documents of the late first and early second century are of historical value. In addition to the three mentioned, which for a time were read as Scripture, we have the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and of the Apologists. Among the former are listed The Letters of Ignatius, The Epistle to Diognetus, the writings of Papias, Polycarp, and the earliest church manual, the Didache, or the Teaching of the Twelve. The Apologists came soon after, chief among whom were Justin Martyr, martyred about 165, Aristides, Athenagoras, and Minucius Felix. Trained in philosophy, these writers sought to defend Christianity on the ground of its rationality and universality.

Non-Christian sources are extremely few in number and meager in content for the earliest period. Soon after the time of Jesus there is an uncertain reference in the Jewish historian Josephus, another much later in the Roman historian Suetonius. With the beginning of the second century pagan allusions to Christianity increase in number and importance. Tacitus writes in a disapproving manner of its questionable standards, so difficult for a lordly Roman to understand. Pliny the younger in a similar vein, when writing to the Emperor Trajan, refers to the peculiar beliefs and practices of certain Christians in his province. Much valuable material of this kind has come down to us in the writings of Fathers who fortunately quoted copiously from the arguments and accusations of their foes.

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[1] Meaning the rule or standard of measurement

B. JESUS CHRIST, THE SOURCE OF CHRISTIANITY

Although Paul is frequently referred to by historians as the founder of the church, the Christ of his faith was his inspiration and life. And though the Jesus of history was exalted by the wondering adoration and devoted allegiance of his followers into the transcendent Christ of experience, it is with the Prophet of Nazareth that we have to do in our present study. As we consider his teaching, his mission, and his person in the light of the New Testament records, we may gain an appreciation of the revolutionary movement which he inaugurated.

1. Work. Into the well-known story of his life we need not enter. Suffice it to say that he, who was born in Palestine about 4 B. C., who lived the life of a carpenter in Nazareth, and then for a brief period of two or three years ministered publicly to the material and the spiritual needs of the people only to have the Jewish hierarchy and the Roman power put an end to his career by the shameful death on the cross, was destined to become the mightiest moral and spiritual dynamic the world has seen. The great Lover of man was killed because his teaching was revolutionary, because his principles demanded a new appraisal of values, and because his person stood athwart the pathway of selfish interests and vested rights.

Deeply devotional and intensely religious, Jesus proclaimed a message that was unique, not in its utter originality, but in its matchless symmetry, its beautiful harmony, and its irenic comprehensiveness. It was mystical without neglecting the ethical. Its eschatological features did not exclude a strong social emphasis. Its stress upon the inner motive corrected the formalism and legalism of the rabbinical and Pharisaical teaching. The highest Old Testament teaching about God was re-enforced and intensified. Jesus' view of man enhanced the conception of his inherent worth and infinite value. Sin was recognized in all its ugliness and malignity, the inner temper ("out of the heart") which destroys and devours. Salvation from sin and its terrible consequences in body, mind, and soul came through repentance of the evil and the acceptance of God and his standard of values. This transformation of human souls would lead to the transformation of human society. The kingdom of God would become a reality outwardly as it became a reality inwardly in the heart of man. An ever-increasing, more abundant life was in prospect for those who gave themselves to the love of the heavenly Father. For such the future could hold no terrors. Only he who in selfishness deliberately refused God's offer of love had cause to tremble as he faced the future.

Loving fellowship with the heavenly Father which Jesus enjoyed in such intimate fashion and which he sought to share with others was the heart of his message. He gave a new point of contact with God. His supreme revelation has shown us the Father. Love he believed to be at the heart of the universe, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. We have a Christlike God. In his essential nature man is akin to God and created for a spiritual end. Jesus has not only revealed God to man but man to man. Himself the ideal of humanity, he has shown what man might become. He became the "Son of man" that man might realize himself as a son of God. He came, in short, to heal the wounds of afflicted humanity, to increase the spiritual health of the righteous, to mediate salvation to all men, to make God the supreme fact in man's life, to create a religion of redemption, for "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself."

2. Person. The person and work of Jesus are so closely interwoven that they can be separated only for purposes of thought. Nevertheless, we can say that the work of Jesus Christ was so significant because he himself was so tremendously significant. Many of his sayings can be duplicated in the literature of his people, and in part, in the literature of other religions. Taken as a whole, however, they are unique in their superb combination of the essentials, their omission of the nonessentials, their recognition of all the factors leading to life, their marvelous simplicity and their dynamic reality. Appearing in the world through the alembic of a personality that cannot be duplicated in history, the teaching became alive and grew with life. His work touched the heart of reality in such ways as to become the power of God unto salvation.

The person of Jesus made such a profound impression upon his disciples and upon his later followers that in adoration of Him who brought salvation they sought to know him not after the flesh but after the spirit. The Jesus of history became the Christ of faith, the present, living Christ of blessed experience. Various interpretations were offered to explain The Presence, to tell the meaning of The Way, The Truth, and The Life, but they all terminated in the abiding conviction that in Jesus Christ a merciful God was found. The names "Messiah," "the Son of man," "the Son of God," "the Christ," "the Lord," were attempts to define the meaning of that experience. The human Jesus who lived for a time was also divine. His death on the cross was a ransom for many. But death could not hold him. He arose from the grave and ascended into the heavenlies to be present in the lives of the faithful as an abiding Spirit. In view of this wonderful experience, the early group who constituted *The Fellowship* could say nothing less than "my Lord and my God." God who had spoken in times past through the prophets was now seen in the face of Jesus Christ. Through the incarnation God had actually come into human life. Through the atonement he had given himself for the redemption of mankind. In the resurrection were seen his all-conquering love and his glorious promise of eternal blessedness.

C. The Founding of the Church

Whatever explanation is given for the resurrection, the fact remains that the belief in the ever-present, living Christ constituted the chief cause for the founding of the church. At first the group of believers did not form an organization separate from Judaism but were bound together in love and in spirit, as an inner circle, a Fellowship in the Spirit. The Pentecost experience intensified this feeling of the presence of the Spirit and the allegiance to the common Lord. The marks of this common life originally were attendance on the teaching of the apostles, belonging to the Fellowship, having all things in common, observance of the breaking of bread, prayers, and waiting for the coming of the Lord. The church as such came into being when Jewish hostility and Gentile influence made of the ever-expanding groups a self-conscious organization which found its nourishment outside of the Temple, and met in the private homes of believers and later in buildings set apart for worship.[2]

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[2] See Chapter XVI for more detailed account of organization.

The apostles and the immediate disciples at first directed the affairs of the growing society, ably assisted by early Hellenistic converts. Among the latter was Stephen, the first martyr, a prophet of liberty who, like Peter, obeyed "God rather than men" in order to preserve to the followers of the Christ the right to do their own thinking. As a pioneer of Christianity's right to reinterpret itself Stephen stands pre-eminent. The way was prepared for the great builder who had witnessed, undoubtedly with profound emotions, the slaying of Stephen. With characteristic energy and whole-hearted devotion Paul laid the foundations for the erection of the mighty church building.

As missionary and Christian promoter Paul stands without a peer in the primitive church. It was largely through his efforts that the new faith was not irrevocably tied to Judaism. Its universal appeal could brook no barriers of race or clan. It was through him that the experiences of Christians received some intellectual appraisal. A theology was begun in which faith, hope, and love crowded out much of ancient tradition and ceremonial requirements. A fervid mysticism demanded the indwelling Christ, which was the beginning and the end of Paul's message. In Christ the Saviour the new Fellowship was to move, and live, and have its being. Love was the more excellent way, the ultimate solvent of all life's problems, the evangelism of Power which cleanses from sin, creates the new life, and endows with conquering strength.

James places great weight upon the ethical in his insistence that works must inevitably prove the validity of the new life. The Johannine literature soars to the lofty heights of the Christian seer in presenting the Son of God who reveals in his person the very nature of God. The exalted Christ is clearly identified with the Spirit, yea, with God, for "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." He who receives this revelation shares the life of God which is perfectly revealed in Christ.

D. THE MEANING OF CHRISTIANITY

The Christian Church was created out of the experiences of the original disciples, re-enforced by the teachings of the apostles, and vitalized by a common devotion to the Lord and a common inspiration of the Spirit. Though grounded in Judaism it was more than a glorified Judaism, more than a republication of the prophetic message. Some of its first exponents, indeed, declared it to be a revived Mosaism, a more rigid declaration of the traditional Jewish faith, but they were soon left in the rear by the forward-looking pioneers of universalism. The new faith, a new gift of God in Christ, was for all, irrespective of race, color, age, or sex. So Paul declared and so the rapid spread of Christianity among the Gentiles seemed to prove. The result, the Christian Church, was really a blending of the Jewish and the Gentile ideals, a process which had been foreshadowed by the Hellenized Jew and the Hebraized or "God-fearing" Gentile.[8]

Although the church grew partly by this process of absorption, sucking "the marrow of the ancient world" and assimilating it, Christianity was more than a mere aggregate of varied component parts. It was like a plant which, endowed with life, makes over into a larger organism those ingredients from soil and air which can be utilized in the process of growth. On this ground Christianity differed with Gnosticism, which in some of its forms sought to combine in a harmonious whole the best elements from all schools of thought and of religion. In Christian Gnosticism Christ was grafted in mechanically. In Christianity he was the pivotal life center.

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[8] Many Jews had been influenced by Greek culture and had adopted the Greek outlook upon life. On the other hand, a considerable number of Gentiles felt attracted to the high ethical level of the Jewish faith and its strict monotheism.

1. A New Hope. Without differentiating it in kind from the great Jewish religion from which it sprang, history bears out the fact that the new religious movement gave to the world a new hope, a new joy, a new power, and a new life. This is borne out by a careful analysis of its effect upon the lives of the early converts. The oft repeated story of the God-incarnate Christ on the lips of his devotees filled their hearers with amazement and wonder. The common man and the slave whose world lacked hope were given a promise of salvation in this world and blessedness in the world to come that gave wings to their aspirations. He who had no sense of belonging, except perchance as a cog in a human slave machine, could as a Christian feel that he for whom Christ died was a friend of God, a fellow heir with the saints. By accepting Christ he became initiated into the household of God, as a member of the church he was caught up in "the expulsive power of a new affection."

2. A New Joy. The ancient world lacked joy. The conflicting religions in the Roman world promised many things, but joy was not one of them. The ancestral faiths were frequently neglected for the newer mystery cults because the latter claimed to give personal religious satisfaction and sacramental cleansing for sin. Since only the few elect had a monopoly of the thrills and the romance of life, the many were prepared to test the new religion which represented itself to be the bringer of glad tidings. The irrepressible joy reflected in the faces and in the lives of the early converts, manifested in times of stress and persecution, served to attract others to its source.

3. A New Power. The ancient world worshiped

power. Rome represented power, but again it was only for the select few. Christianity came as a religious dynamo of power available for the many who in their weakness and impotence blindly grasped for any promise of help. This power from on high was theirs to make them "more than conquerors." This new power validated itself in the lives of those who actually led the victorious life. Its creative vitality caused a divine assurance and a noble courage to well up in the hearts of those formerly distracted, broken, and defeated.

4. A New Life. The ancient world with all its brilliance and achievements lacked life. Christianity alone of all the religions of the time appeared to meet the requirements. With Jesus life expressed itself so strongly that it burst through some of the old traditions. The creativeness of the new faith caused it to mold forms fit for the message. Before the official church began its policy of repression, liberty of prophesying was a distinctive trait of those who sought to obey God rather than man. At this stage, the new life was a dynamic, growing spirit of power and redemption. It was adaptable to new conditions, quickening and transforming all that it touched. Christian evangelists everywhere taught that in the person of Jesus Christ God had actually entered human life for a redemptive purpose, and that in him were to be found the light and the life of men.

Though the spiritual impulse which had its origin in Jesus was intangible, it assumed form in order to function. After the original Jewish form or garb became too narrow for the expanding life, the latter assumed first a Greek and then a Latin mold in order to meet the needs of these two respective environments. These two types in which early Christianity expressed itself have lived on in some form through the centuries, the Greek type largely in the East, the Latin dominant in the West.

E. Greek Christianity

The early church was not able to follow Paul in all his ideas. It has been said of the heretic Marcion that he was the only one of the second century who understood the great apostle and that he misunderstood him. Paul was followed, however, in his attempt to come to terms with Greek thought and in his practical endeavors to capture the strategic centers of the Græco-Roman world. The attempt to square Christianity with the highest thought of the time resulted in the Hellenization of the church.[4]

1. Justin Martyr. The first of the Fathers to make a systematic reading of Christianity in terms of Greek culture and philosophy was Justin Martyr. He was a philosopher who had failed to find spiritual satisfaction in any of the systems of his day until he studied the Christian system. There he professed to find the true philosophy which contained the essence of all truth. Ardently defending this way of truth, he boldly took his stand upon the far-reaching principle that all truth was one in God, that the word of God was in every heart. In his attempt to present his new convictions on Christianity in a systematic way in order to win Gentiles to the cause, he may be called the founder of systematic theology. He died a martyr's death in 165.

2. The Alexandrian School. In the city of Alexandria, the melting pot of East and West, a Christian school was established during the latter part of the second century. It soon became the intellectual center of the church. Here its great leaders, Clement and Origen in particular, sought to give Christianity full philosophical standing and to bring it into harmony with the deepest speculations of the human mind.

Clement of Alexandria (died about 215) allowed the various currents of thought to play upon his capacious mind in trying to get at all truth as he claimed to find it in Christianity. At this time the spirit of religious toleration permitted the greatest freedom of thought. Clement moved in an atmosphere which seems remarkably like our own. The lines of thought which he and his greater successor developed have a perennial appeal because of their originality, spontaneity, and freshness. He related Hellenic culture vitally with the Christian religion, though he seemed to imply that philosophy was necessary for the learned, whereas faith was sufficient for the unlearned. The way to life and truth by the path of philosophy, he taught, was inspired by God as well as the way of the New Testament. Faith and reason need not be in conflict. The thought of God as dynamically present in power (immanent) was in perfect harmony with the idea of his transcendence. Revelation has come primarily through the Logos (Word), who became incarnate in Christ. Perhaps his most creative suggestion was that of the education of the human race by this Divine Instructor, a suggestion that was later taken up by Herder, Lessing, and Schleiermacher.

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[4] See Chapter XXIII for the significance of this influence.

Although Clement has been termed "the Father of Greek Theology," his successor, Origen (d. 254), must be regarded as its crown. The greatest mind, and one of the supremely great hearts of the early period, his work was epoch-making because it mapped out all the provinces of theology, establishing it upon a scientific basis. His work was both biblical and philosophical. In his conception of the sole reality of the ideal world and the ascription of the origin of evil to the pre-mundane world, he was a follower of Plato. God was regarded as the uncreated source of all, the Son as a pure spiritual derivation. His doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son became the watch cry of the orthodox party at the later council of Nicea (325), and his other conception of the subordination of the Son was utilized by the opposition. His commentaries on the Bible read as if they had been written in the nineteenth century. The allegorical interpretation which he promoted, however, was detrimental to the study of biblical exegesis. Some of his speculations were quite fanciful, but on the whole they were sane, creative, highly spiritual, and deeply penetrating. Many of them were the starting point of later departures of thought as, for instance, his theory that ultimately all worlds and all spirits would return to God, who originally was their source. This is known as restorationism. His scriptural interpretations and spiritualizing approach had much to do with the defeat of the early church pre-millennial view and the crushing of the gnostic and the Monarchian heresies.[5] Origen was, in fact, so far ahead of his day that succeeding ages repeatedly repudiated him, and it is only to-day that the great adamantine soul, the profound thinker, the flaming evangelist has received his due.

The high traditions of Greek theology were maintained by Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373), the arch-foe of Arianism; and by the three contemporary Cappadocian theologians, the two Gregories (Nyssa and Nazianzus), and Saint Basil. In their strife with Arianism and its threat to the idea of God's unity they stressed the oneness of God and Christ, God's immanence in the world, and the solidarity of the human race in Christ. Divine Fatherhood, they claimed, demanded eternal Sonship.[6] After their day a decline set in. Alexandria had served its mission.

3. The School of Antioch. Less influential than the Alexandrian school was the group of thinkers with their center at Antioch. Lucian was the reputed founder, Arius, Nestorius, and other unorthodox

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[5] See Chapter XXI.

[6] *Ibid.*

theologians belonged, while Theodore of Mopsuestia (died 428) and Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople (d. 407), were its outstanding representatives. The latter was a writer of parts but it is as the golden-tongued preacher, the vocal conscience of the church, that he excelled. His zeal and courage were no less pronounced than his matchless eloquence. In the realm of theology and creative thought, the Origen of the Antiochian school was Theodore. He saw more clearly than others the progressive nature of biblical revelation, and as did the Antiochian school in general, he stressed the grammatico-historical interpretation. The spiritualizing allegorical method common with the Alexandrines was repudiated, and a more critical and scientific exegetical approach inculcated. The real essential humanity of Jesus was also more carefully safeguarded, so much so that the other school sensed in it a tendency dangerous to the traditional faith. In the ensuing conflict Antioch bowed to Alexandria, though at the loss of large sections of the church.[7] That type of Greek theology which lived on as orthodoxy bore the hall mark of the Alexandrian school.

F. NATURE OF THE GREEK EMPHASIS[8]

The interpretation of Christianity in terms of philosophic thought naturally left its impress upon the church. Intellectualism, with its emphasis upon the acceptance of correct formulations of doctrine, was promoted. Added to this was the tendency to place all truth within the limits of exact definition, based upon the naïve assumption that the definition contained the whole truth. In its comprehensiveness, however, its desire to be true to all the facts, and its attempt to synthesize opposing propositions Greek thought stands as a monument to man's mental achievement.

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[7] See Chapter XXI.
[8] See Chapter XXIII.

Because of the Greek feeling that one must become something different in order to be saved, the mystical, with its emphasis upon experience and upon the new birth, was stressed. Human nature, it was claimed, must be changed into the divine. That was the result wrought by man's faith in and union with Christ, who embodied in his person the essence of humanity as well as of the divine. Where the Jew might have been satisfied with a code of righteous conduct, the Greek normally felt the need of having a real psychical experience. This made for religious intensity. That ethical conduct did not always receive commensurate emphasis must also be stated. Thus in the later decadent period dogma and mystical emotion, not conduct, became the criterion of Christianity. The church suffered because of its inability to keep the proper balance between the Jewish ethical demands and the Greek mystical experience. The Greek Church of to-day is a living witness of this truth.

CHAPTER IV

HOW CHRISTIANITY WAS RECEIVED

A. By the Jews

Although Judaism symbolizes religion, it failed to see vital religion when it burst forth in all its splendor. The treatment accorded the new revival was that which such phenomena usually receive at the hands of the parent faith. It was deemed heretical, subversive of the old, and dangerous. The ecclesiastical hierarchy feared for its authority and power. The masses, true to form, were preoccupied with other things. Only a comparatively few among the pietistic and apocalyptic groups seemed to be attracted to the despised people who preached so earnestly and lived so simply.

1. The Judaizing Tendency. The story of this reception and the other story of the rejection are graphically told in the book of the Acts of the Apostles and in some of Paul's letters. With a few swift strokes we are presented at first with a group of disciples and followers of the risen Lord who still adhered to Judaism, visited the Temple, and worshiped in the synagogue. Their allegiance to Jesus did not appear in their minds to militate against their loyalty to the real Judaism. Was not this new and glorious life the consummation of God's promise to the Jews? And many of them appeared to think that if this was for the rest of the world it was to be had only by a previous process of ingrafting into the Jewish faith. In other words, in order to become a member of the new society, early known as Christian, a Gentile must first become a Jew. This strange though natural con-

clusion brought the church, to use the word early applied to the movement, face to face with its first crucial problem. That it was solved in the direction of life and growth and not in the direction of stagnation and decay was due largely to the heroic efforts of Saul of Tarsus, the Jew-Greek-Roman known as Saint Paul, Jew by birth, Greek in culture, Roman by right of citizenship. He became a convert after a revolutionary experience. Against the Judaizing propagandists who were straining to chain the new movement to the legalism of traditional Judaism, the great apostle, rooted in Christ but facing the future, contended valiantly for the universal aspects of the faith.

The outcome of this Judaizing tendency can be briefly told. The factional strife engendered by the appearance of this first crisis in the infant church caused the meeting about the year 49[1] of the first council in Jerusalem. It resulted in a partial victory for the larger view. The Judaizing group continued to emphasize the keeping of the law; but the liberal or Gentile group, led by Paul, gained for the non-Jews freedom from exacting Jewish restrictions. Subsequent history proved that this was not entirely satisfactory. A moderate group, the Nazarenes, stressed the binding power of the Mosaic law. The strict constructionists, as we may term them, felt that the new faith was merely a glorified Judaism and Jesus the most rigid exponent of the law. To them Paul was anathema. Because of their opposition to the universalizing tendencies of Paul they became more and more exclusive, out-Jewed the Jews, and created a literature of extreme legalism (called pseudo-Clementine). The final chapter in the history of these extremists, known as Ebionites, ought to serve as a "perpetual warning of the atrophy which awaits blindness to the signs of a new age."[2] In Mesopotamia we still find what appears as a remnant of this earlier group, called the Mandæans, in such a corrupted state that hardly any vestige of Christianity remains.

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[1] Acts 15. 6-29.

2. The Anti-Jewish Tendency. The church was not to escape active persecution. That part of Judaism which represented authority and power, claiming to stand squarely upon the ancient traditions of the race, fought the upstart propaganda ferociously, with all the weapons at its disposal. It was this group which stoned the first martyr, the radical Stephen, had other spokesmen of the hated cult imprisoned and mobbed, and finally laid its hands upon the renegade Pharisee, Paul. To be fair to the Jews, we must remember that they felt their treasured faith endangered by the "misrepresentations and attacks" of these new heretics. Furthermore, some of the early Christian preachers seem to have given the impression that their new religion was an enemy of the old faith. Did not the chief exponents of the latter hound their dear Lord to an untimely death? But he had arisen and was now leading them away from the false religion and toward a glorious consummation in which the Jews would have no part. One writer, in the second-century Epistle of Barnabas, boldly asserted that all Jewish ceremonies were of the devil, while others, not to be outdone, rejected the whole Old Testament. This extreme and dangerous tendency fortunately did not capture the growing church, which, instinctively perhaps, clung to a true sense of its vital connection with the historic past in Judaism and the Hebrew Scriptures.

3. The Outcome. Due to active persecution on the part of both Jew and Roman, many Christians fled from Palestine, both before the destruction of Jeru-

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[2] Workman, H. B., *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, p. 4.

salem in the year 70, and during the oppressive military measures of the Emperor Hadrian, attending the revolution of Bar Cochba, 132-135 A. D. With the forced withdrawal of Christians to distant parts, and the conversion of increasing numbers among the Gentiles, more contacts were made with the Jews of the Dispersion. But even here Christian missionaries were frequently met with mob action.[3] Defenders of the traditional faith besought the authorities to uproot the spreading, pestiferous cult. Among many of the Gentiles, the "devout men" or "God fearers," the message about the Saviour-God was heartily received. This group served as the connecting link between Jew and Gentile and constituted the main channel of the transference of the new Jewish cult to the Gentile world. With the increase of missionary work among the Gentiles the propaganda among the Jews suffered a decline. This was hastened by the almost total repudiation of the gospel by the Jews, which left them outside as strangers or spectators. Later for centuries, as a wandering, homeless, persecuted people, they frequently suffered ghastly mistreatment at the hands of their powerful Christian (?) rulers.

B. BY THE GREEKS

The world of the period we are treating belonged to Rome in a political sense. In a cultural sense Greece had been the conqueror. Her civilization and culture became dominant after Alexander the Great's penetration of the Orient resulted in the Hellenization of the East. When Rome's military prowess had brought the world to her feet, she herself became a captive of this superior world of ideas and ideals, unwittingly becoming an instrument in the further Hellenization of the West. Thus it transpired that both East and West bowed to the cultural supremacy of little Hellas.

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[3] Acts 18-24.

1. First Contact with the Greek Mind. Into this intellectual atmosphere the offspring of Judaism plunged what was regarded as a new philosophy, a new way of life. At first Hellas, who regarded herself as master of all the secular graces and mental achievements of men, looked with disdain upon the new claimant of her attention. Paul, as we know, was partially successful in his first approach to the Gentiles, but he often met with opposition and at the heart of ancient culture, Athens, his hearers were frankly curious and skeptical of the "new doctrine."[4] The mocking attitude shown in this Athenian group naturally continued among the cynics and skeptics and Hellenized Gnostics, as examples of which Cerinthus, contemporary of Saint John, and Celsus, the keen second-century critic, might be selected. The former, a Hellenized Jew, brought his attacks to bear with a subtle thrust at the incarnation in his docetic notion of Christ's person. According to this view, borrowed from the Gnostics, a Saviour like Christ could not have been human, for evil was inherent in the physical or material. He was, on the contrary, a pure Spirit who descended upon the man Jesus at the time of baptism and then left him during the crucifixion. That was the reason why the man Jesus cried out to the spirit Christ leaving him, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" A bolder thinker, a consummate wielder of the literary weapons of critical analysis, a Paine and Ingersoll in one, was the philosopher, Celsus. His bitter, sneering attacks, preserved by his great Christian opponent, Origen (d. 254), anticipated many of the diatribes since leveled at the Christian faith. The charges included

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[4] Acts 17. 19.

those of novelty, inadequacy, unethical ideas of God in the Old Testament, degradation of Deity, irrationality, atheism, foolish doctrines, pacifism, and offishness.

2. Assimilation. As soon as Christianity came to some terms with the highest learning of the age, hostility changed to respect. Greek philosophers began to show signs of sympathetic interest. Some of them like Justin Martyr (d. 165) found in Christianity the only true philosophy, containing the truth found in all others and better stated. His conversion to the Christian cause was symptomatic of the coming change in the minds of the intellectual leaders toward the doctrine which had for so long been a stumbling-block to them. In this first victory over the rationalizing intellect, Christ was too often regarded as the perfect philosopher with insufficient emphasis upon his profound religious significance. Despite such faults, however, these early approaches promised a larger union between the supreme contribution of Hebraism, which was religion, and the chief genius of Greece, which was culture. That Christianity conquered the world of intellect was just as marvelous as her victory over the Roman imperial government.

C. By the Mystery Cults

The story of the rise and rapid spread of the Mystery cults over the Mediterranean world, resulting in the inevitable conflict with their greatest rival, the Christian religion, is arresting in its hold upon the historical imagination. Because of the syncretistic tendencies already noted there was at first no opposition; in some quarters, on the contrary, devotees of other cults were frequently hospitable, willing to receive any new promise of help, irrespective of its source. Since the cults in general were so much alike, Mithraism, the chief among them, will serve as a type.

1. Mithraism. The appearance of this Oriental religion in the Roman Empire synchronized with that of the Christian Church. The race was on for the mastery. For two centuries neither was able to gain any marked degree of ascendency. After a long, successful, and brilliant career the Persian sun-cult finally decayed and disappeared, leaving the field to its rival. The account of this death struggle reads like a romance.

Mithras was an old god of the Indo-Iranian people, who, after the introduction of Persian, Babylonian, and Greek elements, became the god of the light of heaven, sometimes identified with the sun. We have fanciful myths concerning the birth of Mithras, the adoration of the shepherds, Mithras saving men from a flood, and slaying a bull for the benefit of mankind, the evil spirit attempting to frustrate the sacrifice. At the resurrection, it was taught, the good became immortal by partaking of the flesh of the so-called eschatological bull, also slain by the sun god. The wicked, on the other hand, with Ahriman (Satan) and his demons, were destroyed by fire. The unconquerable sun deity was represented as creator, saviour, judge, and celestial father. What made him so popular was the fact that he mediated between the ineffable Unapproachable and mankind. Crude though it was, Mithraism had a definite doctrine of salvation, as we shall see. Man received divine help through the medium of special rites and also in earnest moral strife. Not quietism but religious activity, not resignation but wrestling developed the virtuous life. Lust in all its forms was to be resisted. The defender of justice, the friend of the faithful, the mighty, unconquerable conqueror, Mithras, would vouchsafe the victory.

The Mithraists worshiped in temples, generally in caves or grottos. The ritualism was elaborate, the priesthood was a strong professional class. The novitiate was led through seven stages of initiation, often prolonged and severe. Baptism with the blood of the bull, consecration, a religious meal of sacred bread and water, and other rites brought the consecrated worshiper into an experience of new birth, called *renatus in æternum,*[5] which spontaneously caused the death of the "old man." A real democracy seems to have prevailed in this religious fraternity, though women, according to some evidence, were not admitted to the secret mysteries.

2. Comparison with Christianity. When we compare Christianity with Mithraism some striking similarities are revealed. Both began with a revelation. Mithras, like the Logos, was characterized as Creator, Mediator, Saviour, Judge. Emphasis was placed upon a bloody sacrifice; resurrection of the dead; final destruction by fire; a heaven for the blessed, a hell for the damned; the new birth; and rites connoting baptism and confirmation. These resemblances were so marked that the church Fathers took the attitude which Jesuit missionaries assumed when they saw in Buddhism a seeming replica of Roman Catholicism. It could be nothing less than a work of the devil in his attempt to produce a counterfeit of the church. Besides engendering mutual jealousy and hatred, these resemblances gave rise to confusion.

On the basis of inconclusive evidence it is safe to state that some borrowing must have taken place, but the extent of that borrowing will always remain uncertain. Some resemblances can be explained on the basis of the similarity of the religious atmosphere in which both developed. However that may be, vital defects in doctrine and practice in this and the other mystery cults doomed them from the beginning, offering them no chance to compete on equal terms with an intrinsically superior religion. And so this story ends with the curtain rung down on a scene which shows the Christian Church moving triumphantly onward, not, however, without having incorporated various elements from the dying mystery cults.

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[5] "Reborn into eternity."

D. THE ROMAN RECEPTION

1. The Roman Government and Religion. The Romans were not naturally intolerant of Christianity, as our thought of Nero would lead us to believe. Did they not borrow gods and religious names from Greece? The Jews were generally let alone. And this new "sect" coming from Judaism would have been left unmolested had it "behaved." Rome was firm in insisting that religions must behave. All such received the passive approval of the government, were licensed and allowed to practice their peculiar rites, so long as they remained ethnic cults (*religiones*) and did not degenerate into superstitions (*superstitiones*). To illustrate: The Jew had his religion as he had his peculiar outlook upon life. The Egyptian, the Greek, and other racial groups also had their peculiar religious ideas and customs. With these the conqueror was unconcerned. But when some religious movement broke out from one of these, went beyond the sacred ethnic principle, and then spread like a plague, converting individuals to its standard by a process of personal conviction, it was regarded as a monstrosity that had to be stopped. This does not explain Nero's sudden persecution of the new sect in 64, after he had placed the blame for the burning of Rome upon the Christians, but it does explain the official attitude of the government in after years. Thus when the church in its eager impetuosity transcended the traditional faith of Judaism, laid claims to universalism, persisted in its

proselyting and observed its sacraments in secret, accusations flew thick and fast. Thereupon the government felt constrained to apprehend this new religion for inspection.

2. Popular Criticism. The popular verdict had read that Christianity lacked respectability; that it was too novel to demand serious consideration; that it was atheistic in worshiping a spirit instead of the statue of the emperor, or, indeed any statue; that it fostered sedition because of the unwillingness of Christians to serve in the army. Charges of immorality and cannibalism, however preposterous they appear to us, were not infrequent. To cap the climax, the historian Tacitus damns the Christians for being haters of the human race, most probably because of their offish attitude toward the pagan society of their day.

3. Christian Apology. Most of these accusations were met by the Christian apologists with a firm denial. Christianity was not a novelty, they maintained; it went back through Judaism to the beginning. The pagans, not they, were the real atheists, worshiping as they did idols or demons. The church had the one true God who is spiritual, hence unseen by finite man. Refusal to burn incense to the statue of the Cæsar was due to religious, not patriotic scruples. Christians were not traitorous, never arose against the government; indeed, they prayed for the powers that be. Even in the army they could be found, asserted Tertullian (d. 220). Christians found it easy to clear themselves of the conventional charges of immorality and cannibalism. But since they often met at night for a sacrificial service, greeted each other with a holy kiss and their opponents with fierce intolerance, and refused to compromise even in the worship of the deified emperor, they were regarded with suspicion and their behavior deemed equivalent to a denial of the public good.

Persecution was inevitable. In defense of toleration, tolerant Rome was forced to persecute an intolerant religious group which itself heaped insult upon the others.[6]

4. Persecutions. Instead of ten great persecutions listed in old history books scholars now speak of a continuous relation between the state and the church with a number of sporadic outbreaks, only two of which were in any sense general, official movements to crush the church. After the first overt act of hostility, which was entirely a local affair, Rome satisfied herself with a watchful-waiting policy, guided largely, it seems, by the rescript of the Emperor Trajan, in answer to a letter written between 111 and 113 by one of his governors, Pliny the Younger. This letter and the reply throw much light upon the attitude of a cultured Roman and of the government toward the Christians. They also reveal the lack of a consistent, definite policy. Pliny could find little more than "obstinacy and unbending perversity," "a perverse and excessive superstition."[7] The emperor apparently could find no general law to cover the case and contented himself with a guiding principle that Christians were not to be sought out, but, if reported and convicted, were to be punished after a generous opportunity for repentance. Anonymous accusations were to be utterly disregarded because they were "a very bad example and unworthy of our times."[8]

After other half-hearted moves on the part of Rome to stop the church's encroaching power, some of these due to mob action and one occurring during the reign of the noble Stoic, Marcus Aurelius, the first general persecution broke out under "the accursed wild beast," Decius (249-251). This may have been caused by the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome. The method adopted by the Cæsar and his successor, Valerian, was drastic and ominous. To exterminate the church institution, now considered dangerous to the state, the sacred books and the leaders were attacked, many of the latter, among them outstanding bishops, suffering martyrdom. A period of rest followed this unsuccessful attempt, and then Rome made her last bid for victory by declaring Christianity to be a crime. Diocletian, spurred on by his henchman, Galerius, presumably to establish the unity of the empire upon a religious basis as it already had been reorganized upon a novel political division of power, sought the utter destruction of the church, which he held to be a divisive factor in the empire. This was in 303. It was too late. Even though church edifices were wrecked, sacred books burned, bishops beheaded and thrown to the wild beasts, the marvelous resilience of the compact organization, the death-defying faith of its rank and file, enabled the persecuted church to withstand the shock of this, the most bloody and prolonged of all persecutions. Galerius recognized the logic of events. In 311 the Edict of the Three Emperors officially declared an end to the persecution. The following year, the new star in the political firmament, Constantine the Great, having risen to power on the breakdown of the artificial Diocletian system, proclaimed amnesty to all and toleration for Christians. The famous Edict of Milan, issued in 313, was the beginning of entirely changed relations between church and state.

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[6] Cf. Minucius Felix—*Octavius,* VIII, 3-10, in Ayer, *Source Book for Ancient Church History,* pp. 61f. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

[7] Ayer, *Source Book for Ancient Church History,* pp. 20ff.

[8] *Ibid.*

5. Attitude of Christians. Before we attempt to weigh the significance of this momentous change the oft-told story of the martyrs must receive our attention. The saintly Polycarp was among the first to stand the fiery test when called upon to deny his faith. His memorable defiance humbly expressed

was, "Eighty-six years have I served Christ, and he never wronged me; how can I speak evil of my King and Saviour?" Others less known were equally willing to attest their faith in the words of a hostile critic: "While they fear to die after death, for the present life they do not fear to die."[9] Even women and children caught the contagion. Some Christians actively sought this painful method of attaining to heavenly bliss.

Not all remained true to the cause. After every persecution the church had grave disciplinary problems on its hands relating to the lapsed, or to the validity of baptism performed by the clergy who had temporarily fallen away.[10] There is no doubt but that this pruning process served to keep the church comparatively pure. But it also had the effect of instilling in the minds of the persecuted hatred for their oppressors. Tertullian describes the torments of hell which will ultimately be the portion of the pagan rulers and persecutors of his day, a spectacle the thought of which, he suggested, ought to cause exultation in the Christian. The after effects of these periods of oppression afford a classic example of the creation of bitterness and retaliation inevitably linked up with the use of force. When the church came into power the same methods of coercion were employed against opposing factions.

6. The Triumph of the Church. To the Christians of that day it must have appeared that the conversion of Constantine saved the church. The formerly despised sect began to travel at a dizzy pace on the road to power and glory under the protection of the imperial ægis. Was it triumph or defeat? Some students have come to the conclusion that this outward triumph was essentially a defeat. We are told that

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[9] Minucius Felix—*Octavius*, VIII, 8, in Ayer, *Source Book for Ancient Church History*, p. 62.

[10] See Chapter XXII.

the first three centuries give us a history of the church in the world; the next twelve, a history of the world in the church. The change came when Constantine made of the oppressed and spiritual church an imperial, hence secular, church. What are the facts?

As an astute politician Constantine had seen that it was the highly organized Christian Church with which he had to reckon. That explains his edict of toleration after his first great battle for supremacy, an edict which did not make Christianity the state religion, but merely gave it legal standing. As a statesman he was mightily concerned about unity, and saw in the one universal church the instrument he needed to maintain that unity. Although he took a personal interest in church affairs, he never became a model Christian. He presided at the first general council of the church (Nicea, 325), unbaptized, a nominal adherent of the church, still partly pagan and proud of the title of Pontifex Maximus. Whatever interpretation is placed upon the famous story that Constantine saw the emblem of the cross emblazoned in the skies with the inscription "In this sign conquer," we know that he was superstitious enough to be swayed by omens and portents. But we do not need this story to explain his action. Through his acknowledgment of its prowess, the church found itself in a position to triumph over its enemies. But again, was it a triumph?

7. The Results. What did the church gain by the transaction? Protection instead of persecution, the sunshine of imperial favor instead of the wrath of brutal magistrates and blood-thirsty mobs, were most desirable boons. Many now joined because it was the popular thing to do, influenced, no doubt, by the example of the court. Wealth began to pour into the church's coffers, and the corporation received the legal right to receive bequests. The poor and the

needy were better provided for, hospitals were built, and philanthropy was promoted.

Moreover, the systematic and gradual suppression of paganism accrued to the advantage of the church. New laws were formulated which favored the Christian clergy at the expense of pagan priests. The episcopal courts proved to be a valuable asset in the government's task of upholding law and order, though later they led to the unfortunate clerical exemption from criminal procedure. In the moral and social realms the increased influence of the church was likewise felt. The New Testament idea of equality, supported by the noble Stoic ideal, had made for the amelioration of the slaves' life. The stage and the arena became less brutal and coarse. The sublime vision of the Carpenter of Nazareth powerfully checked the prevailing notion of the degradation attached to common labor. Through the influence and the teaching of the church, children were given a place not accorded them by the pagan world. Women felt the uplift of the movement that had spiritualized family life, despite the one-sided views that stressed the ascetic ideal of celibate life. When Constantine decided for Christianity, we can easily see why churchmen should feel that a new age had dawned. One enthusiast predicted the imminent approach of the millennium.

The other side of the story needs to be told. A large percentage of the multitudes that joined the church brought with them a vast amount of paganism. Many joined for the sake of the personal advantage that might be gained. Wealth rolled in, but with it came luxury and love of ease and comfort. Imperial protection led to preferment seeking and tended to create a subservient clergy. Constantine felt that his protecting care gave him the right to lord it over them. Coercion, backed up by the military powers of the state, was frequently applied against paganism without and heresy within the church. Here we have the beginning of the tragic story of inquisitorial powers of government, civil and ecclesiastical, utilized in the promotion of uniformity of belief and the discouragement of individual adventure in faith. The great dissensions that came later because of strife about creeds cannot be wholly ascribed to the act of Constantine. Imperial support, however, did aggravate the situation and often prolonged the struggles. Political rather than the religious exigencies of the hour sometimes constituted the deciding factor.

This dramatic change in the fortune of the church constituted a real peril. Material splendor and power threatened the spiritual vitality of Christianity. The church went into a later period outwardly intrenched, but inwardly weakened. For this reason, in the Near East especially, it proved unable to meet the Mohammedan wave. In its weakened, divisive, degenerate condition it was, in fact, partly responsible for the rise of that seventh-century Arabic revival. On the other hand, the church might not have been able to meet the tremendous problems incident to the great migration of nations in the West unsupported by the material and political advantages gained by Constantine's action. It might be wisest to conclude that the church did not completely sell her glorious spiritual birthright for a mess of imperial pottage.

8. Reasons for the Church's Triumph. This victory of the church, however much we qualify it, was nevertheless such a marvelous achievement that it still causes wonder to arise in the mind of the investigator. How did it come about that the despised Judæan faith overcame all its rivals in the conflict of religions during the first three centuries, finally won the active support of imperial Rome, and thoroughly supplanted paganism before the close of

the fourth century? The historian must confine himself to pure historical procedure and ignore that which the theologian is at liberty to emphasize. Consequently, aside from any consideration about Divine Providence, the question raised may be briefly answered by stating that the church won the day against its religious rivals because it offered the world something intrinsically new and because it met the deep religious needs of humanity better than did any of its rivals. Before this transcendent spiritual power even the enchanting spell wrought by the vigorous mystery religion of Persia was compelled to give way.

The "decline and fall" of the latter cult reveals factors which entered into its defeat. It was a frontier religion wrapped up in the uncertain fortunes of those remote regions. The church, on the contrary, gradually captured the strategic centers. The former failed in making an impression upon the Greek mind. The church won its first notable victories in that field, a conquest absolutely essential if the ancient world was to be gained. The former, like most of the cults, was too prone to compromise with everything in sight, with an all too great dependence upon imperial support. Devotees of a number of cults found their allegiance to any single one correspondingly weakened. Here the Christian organization, by its very intolerance and unequivocal attitude, had a decided advantage. Additional defects in the ancient cults can easily be detected; extravagances, "superannuated pasts," the absence of authoritative sacred books, the ready assimilation of gross superstitions, the presentation of gods of a mythical character, and in some, immoral ceremonials. In the strife between solar pantheism, nature glorifications, mythical deities, and a religion which presented a definite historical personality, really divine yet wholly human, the latter was bound to gain the ascendency.

In addition to these advantages, we cannot fail to see the superiority of the compact, well-knit institution which even Gibbon, with an anti-Christian bias, was bound to admire. Lecky's suggestive phrase, "disciplined enthusiasm,"[11] offers a better explanation. This spirit of intense loyalty to the cause, of passionate devotion to the divine-human Christ, of implicit trust in God's promise of ultimate triumph, of boundless faith in the finality and absoluteness of the church, all together created a spiritual force that proved irresistible. Christians "out-thought, out-lived, and out-died" their contemporaries in the declining days of the Roman Empire. Taken in the large, their lives of purity and love, their fortitude in times of stress, their intense earnestness, and their unwavering conviction in the indispensability and urgency of their mission, transcended anything of a similar nature in the lives of adherents of other cults. That some proved unworthy and faithless does not materially alter the fact that the personal life which the Christian lived, rather than any set of dogmas which he may have entertained, then as now constituted the chief argument for Christianity. The world is wonderfully drawn toward any manifestation of the Christ life. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." The ideal is found in the words of an early writer, "We do not speak great things, but we live them."

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[11] *History of European Morals,* 6th ed., vol. i, p. 389.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY

A. The Latin Church of the West

Although the West was influenced by Greek culture, philosophy and Oriental religions, the dominant Roman mold soon encased it. The Roman organizing genius, practical bent of mind, and legalistic standards of measurement soon made themselves felt. When Saint Paul turned toward the west he made inevitable the westernization of his Oriental religion. The part that Rome played in this process in helping to determine the character of Christianity for the whole western world can hardly be exaggerated. Even beyond the bounds of the church which calls itself Roman the Roman type prevailed. Modern reconstructions in religion have usually been more in sympathy with the earlier Greek expression, where institutionalism and ecclesiastical authority were less rigid and stereotyped.

The doctrinal interests of the West were of a more practical nature than those of the East. Extremes of speculative thought were seldom present. The orthodox settlements in the General Councils (all held in the East) were generally accepted. The only great doctrinal controversy in the West, as we shall see, had to do not with theology proper but with anthropology, with the doctrine of man, his nature, relation to God, and salvation. The Western creed (the Apostles' Creed) differs from the Eastern Conciliar formulated creeds by its practical interests and its simple statement of historic facts. In short, the Latin mind concerned itself primarily with systems of organization and polity and with doctrine that vitally related itself to this organization which dispensed salvation.

B. THE BEGINNINGS OF LATIN THEOLOGY

The first dominant personality in Latin theology and its real father was the Roman jurist and African Father Tertullian (d. about 220).[1] His passionate espousal of various causes and wide interests, his biting wit, vivid imagination, and nervous style made him a power in his day and a writer who is easily read to-day. Coming into the church out of a pagan atmosphere, he went the full length of asceticism by giving himself to the serious life of Montanism, a second-century puritanic sect. Not by the influence of official position but by the sheer force of his powerful mind and intense passion he created the crude forms into which were poured by him and by his successors the life and the thought of the West.

He was instrumental in beginning the Latin emphasis upon works. This appears in his statement that the more a man punishes himself the less God would punish him. The phraseology of later theology is greatly indebted to his "masterly power of framing formulæ," for we have from him such words as "trinity," "merit," "satisfaction," "persona." Although he upheld the Logos Christology, he made current the more intimate term "Son." And against the gnostic tendency to resolve the Christ into a phantom he vigorously declared for his real humanity. He had, in fact, a view of the physical and of nature in general that was refreshing in contrast to its later monastic depreciation. This did not lead him to speak lightly of sin, however, for he had a deeper sense of the heinousness of sin than any thinker since Paul. Salvation from sin (not original sin, which he opposed), he taught, came by God's grace, which brought forgiveness of sin together with an infusion of power from above. On the whole he was a powerful supporter of the church, which he claimed no persecution could crush, for, to quote his famous words, "The blood of the Christians is the seed of the church." Despite his great merits Rome refused him canonization, presumably because of his bitter attacks upon officialism and his Montanist persuasion. Nevertheless, his doctrine of sin and grace, necessity of works, baptismal regeneration, obedience to the church, and the legalistic turn he gave to theology lived on in the Roman church.

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[1] It is of interest to note that both Greek and Latin theology took their rise in north Africa, where the church appeared to be in a flourishing state for more than two centuries.

C. CATHOLICITY AND IMPERIALISM

The Latin idea of the church demands one institution which is universal, one system of law by which it is regulated, and one head to govern and to execute the law of God. Although the foundations for the Catholic Church had been laid during the latter part of the second century, it remained for Cyprian (d. 258), the prince bishop of Carthage, to give it its charter. Because he set forth so clearly the classic doctrine of the church he has been called the Father of Sacerdotalism.[2] He taught that the church could not exist without the ordained priesthood and that the priesthood controlled the keys to heaven and hell. In his endeavor to maintain the integrity and unity of the deposit of faith, he went one step further and declared that the church could have no meaning apart from the episcopacy. No bishop, no church. To the further position that the episcopacy must have one head as its crown he did not advance. He deemed it sufficient to state dogmatically that salvation could be found only within the church and in submission to the bishop. "Outside the church no salvation."

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[2] By sacerdotalism is meant the theory that the church resides essentially in its priesthood.

To prove against the heretics that the church had kept the deposit of faith free from the taint of error he enlarged upon and gave the classic statement to the theory of apostolic succession. According to this view the bishops are the direct successors of the apostles and as a body constitute the sole channel through which the true faith has been and can be transmitted. In other words, the Holy Spirit was now tied to a hierarchy, the united episcopate was his mouthpiece. The logical conclusion of this theory was drawn by Rome. Just as the oligarchy of the Roman Senate gradually merged into the absolutism of the empire, so the episcopal oligarchy in Latin Christianity finally merged into the Roman primacy.[3] The Catholic Church then adopted imperialism as a sign of its universalism.

The development of sacramentarianism was an important part of this process. The simple rite of baptism as an initiation into the church became a magical affair in the performance of which the practice of exorcism was introduced. The prevailing belief in demons and in demon-possessed individuals seemed to require some sacred rite for the expulsion of the same. Its central significance, however, lay in the magical idea that the soul was regenerated by the water of baptism. The eucharist was no longer a meal of thanksgiving in memory of the sufferings of the Lord but a sacrament in the stricter sense, an offering which was regarded as a repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ to which was attached propitiatory value. Other sacraments had come into being and the whole ceremonial practice of the church made more sacramentally effective and æsthetically appealing. The liturgy was also enriched by the introduction of hymns and chants. The spread of a uniform ritual was one of Rome's most effective methods in winning the West to her imperial standard.

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[3] See further discussion of the papacy in Chapter XVII.

The standard of ecclesiasticism which Cyprian had unfurled was given additional prestige by the magnificent courage and vision of the able preacher and administrator, Bishop Ambrose of Milan (d. 397). The proud possessor of the imperial title, the Emperor Theodosius, was forced to bow in abject submission before the unarmed bishop who in his official capacity represented the eternal righteous law of God. That law, Bishop Ambrose declared, demanded public penance on the part of the emperor for his ruthless massacre of a large number of the citizens of Thessalonica. By such acts of moral heroism, duplicated in the lives of some of the other bishops and popes, the hierarchical principle became more solidly established. According to one ancient writer, the bishops defended the church and thus got possession of the church.

D. LATIN CHRISTIANITY ESTABLISHED

The foundations had been laid by Tertullian and Cyprian. The framework and part of the imposing superstructure were reared by Jerome, by a number of the popes, and in particular by Augustine.

1. Jerome. Jerome (d. 420) was very influential in his own day because of his vast learning and his promotion of the monastic movement. His interests, however, were so largely centered in the East, where he with friends like the famous Roman lady, Paula, actively directed the erection of convents, that the West felt his influence chiefly in one direction only. For about fifteen hundred years he fixed the gospel text by his famous Latin translation known as the Vulgate.

2. Papal Influence. Great popes like Leo I (d. 461) and Gregory I (d. 604) not only virtually ruled the West but created those precedents which formed out of spiritual Christianity a theology supporting and subordinated to ecclesiastical control. With them doctrine became a handmaid to the institution.[4] The organization, with its inherent authority, discipline, and control, assumed the place of primary importance. On the plane of external history the popes appeared to bring the Latin ideal to fruition, but it was Augustine who made it possible.

3. The Significance of Augustine. In his suggestive survey of Christian doctrine, A. V. G. Allen[5] writes these words regarding Augustine's influence: "For a thousand years those who came after him did little more than reaffirm his teaching, and so deep is the hold which his long supremacy has left upon the church, that his opinions have become identified with the divine revelation, and are all that the majority of the Christian world yet knows of the religion of Christ." The mere enumeration of the manifold effects of his influence gives him a place in history second to none. Eucken declared that he has been the single great philosopher on the basis of Christianity proper that the world has produced. His great book, *The City of God,* was epoch-making in that it laid the theoretical basis both for the mediæval papacy and for the empire. It may be said to have created the science of the philosophy of history. In his ecclesiasticism he was the father of Catholicism; in his mysticism and doctrine of grace, the father of Protestantism. He was both a source of Biblicism and of church authority. In his penetrating thought and keen self-analysis he anticipated much of modern psychology and philosophy. For

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[4] See chapter on the papacy.

[5] *The Continuity of Christian Thought,* p. 170. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

instance, his statement, "Even though I err, I am," reminds one of Descartes, "I think, therefore I am." Through him a pronounced form of dualism made itself felt in the church, associated with his dogma of original sin which, by the way, was called an innovation by his contemporary, Theodore of Mopsuestia. Predestination and the doctrine of purgatory were given orthodox standing through his support, while Origen's thought as to the final restoration of all things was discarded in favor of the idea of eternal hell. In constructive reasoning, despite his disparagement of reason, he gave the direction which thought and life should go, giving the final form to some of the doctrines. Obviously, such a man cannot be ignored.

a. Life and Experience. Born in Tagaste, in North Africa in 354, he spent his youth in riotous living, yet without losing his interest in intellectual problems. The influence of his pagan father at this time seemed to have been more potent than that of his Christian mother, the famed Saint Monica. Her many prayers, however, found an answer when he started his prolonged search for spiritual satisfaction. Cicero awakened his desire for nobler things. The peculiar dualistic Oriental cult, Manichæism, caught his imagination because it seemed to offer a solution of the problem of evil. For nine years he sought and sought in vain. Greek philosophy then beckoned to the inquiring spirit of Augustine, especially in its Neo-Platonic setting. From the latter he learned that God was the source and sum total of all and that evil was essentially negative and unreal. Still haunted with doubts, still unable to conquer the lower propensities of his nature, the teacher of rhetoric finally came under the magnetic spell of the Bishop of Milan. Ambrose showed him the better way. Augustine's experience in the garden as told in his inimitable autobiography, the *Confessions,* forms one of the most dramatic episodes in that great devotional classic. It was evening. His innermost nature was caught up in the throes of a titanic spiritual struggle. Alone and despairing he tells how he heard the voice of a child singing, "Take up, and read." He opened the Bible at random. His eyes fell upon the verse, "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof." He saw the issue in its true light, surrendered whole-heartedly to Christ, and was baptized in 387 by Ambrose.

This revolutionery experience was significant because it colored his whole theology. He was a perfect illustration of Neander's averment that the heart makes the theologian. His own experience of having been taken almost against his natural will out of his natural depraved state by the overpowering grace of God colored all of his later speculations. After the death of his sainted mother he became a presbyter, and then in 394 bishop of Hippo Regius. He died in 430 while the Vandals were hammering at the gates of the city.

Augustine's magnificent talents and genius for apologetics were given unreservedly for the defense of what he considered the essentials of the faith. Throughout a long career of writing and in the midst of three major conflicts he sent forth a veritable stream of controversial literature. Against the Manichæans he asserted that the church was the sole depository of divine truth. Against the Donatists, who had denied the church the right to rule the conscience in the matter of so-called heretical baptism,[6] he asserted that right. Against the Pelagians, who declared that since salvation was an individual affair between the soul and God the church was not essential to the process, he categorically asserted the contrary.

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[6] The Donatists claimed that baptism was invalid when performed by one who had lapsed during persecution.

Since the many-sided mind of Augustine received virtually all the tendencies of his age and, after having vitalized and transformed them, thrust them as living forces into the future, a further study of his system is mandatory. A previous consideration, however, demands our attention. Augustine was influenced by so many currents of thought which he failed to synthesize into one harmonious whole that contradictions are frequently met. The attempt to make them speak in the same voice can only result in "theological chatter," according to Harnack. His repudiation of Manichæan dualism, for instance, by his Neo-Platonic monism was never a thoroughgoing affair. His thinking was never worked out into a self-consistent system, and it was colored not merely by his experience but also by the nature of the doctrinal conflict in which he happened to be engaged. Against the Manichæans and their notion of a degraded physical nature, he asserted its worth; against the Pelagians, who overidealized the natural ability of man, he goes to great length to prove man's depravity through the fall. At times he writes like a Neo-platonist, at times like a Stoic, then as a rigid Catholic ecclesiastic, followed perchance by a strain of evangelical mysticism. In all his exaggerated positions one can nevertheless find, as Harnack has suggested, "a true phase of Christian self-criticism." Like Origen in the East, so Augustine in the West became the point of departure for apparently opposing tendencies and movements.

b. Augustine's System. Although the chief interest of the brilliant African Father centered in the practical doctrines of man and his salvation, his conception of God as absolute and arbitrary will determined the general trend of his system. Largely through him the equality of the Three within the

Godhead became the accepted opinion of the West. He set all the resources of his mind upon the twofold problem to relate (1) the existence of evil with the idea of God Omnipotent, and (2) the meaning of human freedom with the Absolute. The result in the main is a gloomy one so far as man is concerned and a one-sided narrow emphasis so far as God is concerned.

Man, he taught, lost all the freedom and nobility of will that he originally had through the fall of Adam, in whom and through whom all mankind sinned and became depraved. Thus arose original sin, which was based upon the idea of the solidarity of the race in Adam. The moral taint it introduced into man's nature separated him from God and because man's will was rendered utterly helpless, his doom was sealed. Salvation can come only through a fresh creative act on the part of God. That actually occurs when God chooses to save some through his predestinating activity. Divine grace, through which alone man is saved, thus becomes irresistible. It is also free, to be gained by no merit on man's part. And yet Augustine ties up the impartation of this impersonal grace to the institution of the church. Through the official priesthood alone could this grace be distributed. God was thus conceived to be the sole source, grace the sole power, and the church the sole agency of salvation. With the earlier Greek thinkers salvation had usually been regarded as the process through which the divine in man had been evoked from within. Here it was represented as the impartation of a spiritual potency from without through the medium of external channels, the sacraments. Baptism especially was essential because it washed away original sin. Infants dying without this sacred rite were lost. As a consequence the rite was given a meaning it had not hitherto had and infant baptism became the prevailing practice in the West.

That Augustine failed to do justice to certain great truths while emphasizing others is obvious. He limited God's spiritual activity, yet made God central in life, he defined sin too much in terms of mere fleshly lust, yet recognized its terrible hold upon the race, he depreciated the natural worth of man but in doing so escaped the pitfalls of Stoic moralism. He never quite came to believe in the rationality of the Christian faith, yet his vision of the gradual extension of the City of God over the world is magnificent. The defects in Augustine received their classical denial in his great opponent Pelagius, a British monk who came to Rome about 400. Two antithetical types of mind so often seen in other ages now met in a head-on clash, the nature and the outcome of which constituted a deciding factor in the subsequent development of the church.

4. Pelagianism. Like Augustinianism, Pelagianism is in large measure a product of experience. Pelagius seems to have grown up in a Christian atmosphere, developing gradually, with the aid of strong natural powers, into a fuller Christian life. No such depths of sinful degradation, of despair, and then of a revolutionary experience, such as his opponent had had, seem to have come into his life. His presentation of Christianity, consequently, magnified the natural powers of man. Man was capable of meeting God's requirements and of obtaining salvation. Original sin was not present to deprave, predestination not needed, irresistible grace unnecessary. In the matter of salvation the church itself, though useful, did not appear to be essential. Man's free will was strenuously upheld. Adam's fall affected him alone and influenced the race only by way of example. Men could attain to perfection, for history offered the examples of a number who had.

The defects of this system also appear on the surface. More consistently worked out than the Augus-

tinian, it nevertheless showed tendencies toward an extreme individualistic interpretation, as if each man could work out his salvation apart from his fellow men. It failed to see the generic aspect of evil and the power of sin in undermining man's boasted freedom of the will. It traveled dangerously near identifying itself with a mere moralistic system such as the Confucian ethical system of China. It might be said that both the contesting Christian systems suffered because of an inadequate appreciation of God's indwelling presence in mankind, Augustine in his doctrine of original sin, Pelagius in his depreciation of the doctrine of divine grace. Outside of his formal reasoning, in the heart of hearts of his
perience Augustine, however, profoundly sensed that
truth.

Pelagianism was condemned in
synods, including the General Council
431, but Augustinianism did not on tha
erally prevail. Many arose to oppos
mately to moderate it so that what act
was a diluted form of the original. Cassian of Marseilles, a semi-Pelagian, sought to do justice to human responsibility and free will, on the
and to the inborn propensity to sin and the consequent need of divine grace, on the other. He was supported by his pupil, Vincent of Lerins, whose famous criterion of true doctrine as that "which has been believed everywhere, and always, and by all" was presumably set up as a check upon the introduction of doctrinal innovations such as those of Augustine.

In spite of these attacks and modifications the prestige of the great African was so overpowering that he remained the victor and his name became synonymous with orthodoxy. The church honored his name while unconsciously persecuting his spiritual sons. Thus when Gottschalk, a ninth-century monk, attempted to expound the double predestination doctrine he was severely dealt with. When Luther vigorously acclaimed Augustine's doctrine of grace against Augustine's doctrine of the church, he was anathematized. When Jansen, in the seventeenth century, identified himself thoroughly with the author of Latin orthodoxy he also was condemned. All this seems to indicate that only a part of Augustinianism was really acceptable to the Roman Catholic Church, and that Jesuitism, with its strong affinity to Pelagius and to the ecclesiastical Augustine, actually constitutes modern Roman Catholicism.

E. The Last of the Latin Fathers

The Latin Church had become thoroughly established in its inner meaning by the fifth century. The task of making it co-extensive outwardly with the Romanized and Teutonized West was begun in a comprehensive way by Pope Gregory I (died 604), who has been termed the "Last of the Fathers."[7] He was not creative, adding nothing original to the Roman system unless it be the additions to the liturgy and hymnody called the Gregorian Chant. He accomplished a task of immense significance, however, in handing over to the future rulers of church and state the ancient tradition, a well-articulated church system, and the remnants of the ancient civilization. The creative urge of man seemingly had spent itself. For centuries the task was to consist in transmission, consolidation, and synthesis.

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[7] His significance for the papacy is discussed in Chapter XVII; his work as a missionary agent is presented in Chapter XIX.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

ALL divisions in history are more or less arbitrary because one age merges into another almost imperceptibly. Nevertheless certain periods exhibit dominant tendencies which mark them off from other periods. That period of church history which deals with the Mediæval Church extends from the so-called fall of the Western Roman Empire to the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire, or from the fifth to the fifteenth century. To simplify matters we may designate the centuries during which the migration of the barbarian tribes took place as the Dark Ages, the period following as the Middle Ages. Succeeding this came the Renaissance, a movement largely of the fifteenth century, which ushered in new ideals and attitudes of mind.

A. DEFINITION OF MEDIÆVAL

The name "mediæval" suggests that the period in question came between two ages, the ancient which it superseded and the modern which it introduced. Its salient features, so far as western Europe is concerned, were those of transition, of the transmission of the ancient tradition and learning to succeeding ages, of consolidation and systematization of the doctrines and thought bequeathed from the past with some creative work in certain realms of human endeavor. It constituted a gradual weaving together of the three chief strands, the Greek and Roman, the Christian, and the Teutonic, with minor elements of a more incidental nature, such as the Mohammedan,[1] the Keltic, the Jewish, and Slavonic. It has been called "the age of faith," "the age of chivalry," "the age of law," and "the Dark Ages." As F. S. Marvin concludes: "It exhibits elements which justify them all, kings celebrated for their services to learning who had never learned to write, orgies of savage cruelty in the interests of the purest of religions, loose lives and ecstatic aspirations, rough hands and meticulous theory."[2] An age about which historians differ from excessive adulation to caustic condemnation, is one which must be approached cautiously. Its seamy side cannot be overlooked; its virtues ought not to be extravagantly idealized.

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[1] Mohammedanism had its origin (622) in the racial and religious reforms of the Arabian prophet, Mohammed. Western Asia, northern Africa, and Spain were captured within one hundred years.

B. THE DARK AGES

When the barbarian tribes first broke into and overran the Roman Empire they threatened to extinguish the light of the brilliant Greek culture and to destroy the marvelous fabric of Roman civilization. This period of eclipse, however, is limited almost entirely to the western or Latin part of Christendom, because the East was only partially affected by the destructive barbarian attacks. The Mohammedan wave of conquest, it is true, tore off vast territories from the Eastern Church but it became in its turn a creative force of no mean dimensions for a number of centuries.

1. The Eastern Church. While the West thus went into a night of darkness, despair, and destruction, the East maintained a semblance of refinement, culture, and prosperity. This was especially true during the reign of the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, when Italy and Africa were again brought under the ægis of the Eastern Empire. His magnificent codification of Roman law, known as the Justinian Code, was easily the chief contribution of the

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[2] *The Living Past.* 4th ed., pp. 120f.

century. His closing of the University of Athens, the last stronghold of paganism, signalized the complete triumph of the church in the field of education. This period of brilliance, however, was followed by stagnation and decay, only occasionally reminding one of past splendors, as when the theologian, John of Damascus (d. 754), exhibited systematizing powers of no mean order in the field of religious thought, or when Photius, patriarch of Constantinople of the following century, preserved for us many ancient classics in his famous *Myriobiblion.* Fierce controversies regarding the person of Christ ended in the seventh century. The no less severe struggles revolving about the picture-worship issue were settled at the last General Council in 787 which allowed the veneration of images. There were notable revivals of learning during the ninth and the tenth centuries. Thereafter the Eastern Church lapsed into a condition of arid orthodoxy, sentimental mysticism, and standardized traditionalism. The Turks came in 1071, pressed almost up to the walls of Constantinople, and by this pressure seemed to hasten the church into the condition of static sameness and blind loyalty to the past which was to be characteristic of it for centuries to come.

2. The Western Church. In the West the story is just the reverse. The age of darkness came first. Contact with Islam proved to be a stimulus. Progress and development followed due to a restless energy and acceptance of new truth which ushered in a new spirit and made way for real advance in the realms of the heart and the mind. The Teutonic tribes at first played the part of destroyers hastening the dismemberment of the disintegrating empire; then, trained by the church, they became the reorganizers of both state and church. In co-operation with the latter they finally created the distinctive mediæval institutions and inaugurated the movements peculiar to this age. The history of the Mid-

dle Ages is so complex and so full of contradictions that the attempt will be made here, not to give a connected chronological account, but, rather, to set forth the characteristic movements, institutions, and types which best illustrate the meaning of the period and best reveal the nature of the mediæval mind.

a. The Kelts. The Kelts had immigrated into western Europe before the Christian era. Cæsar's Gallic wars acquaint us with their habits and character. Decimated by warfare and assimilated in part by the conquering Romans, driven back by the fiercer Teutons, this early wave of westward migration played a relatively unimportant rôle in history. When their more numerous and more sturdy distant kinsmen broke through the protecting eastern frontier of the empire the result was different.

b. The Teutons. The migrations were caused by the pressure of fiercer tribes to the rear, by the spirit of adventure, and by land hunger and greed. The West Goths came first, crossed the Danube and battled with the Romans when they were mistreated, defeating the Roman army at Adrianople in 378 A. D. After the conquest and sack of Rome in 410, the motley group finally settled in Spain and created a kingdom which lasted until it was subdued by the onrushing Mohammedans in 711. The Vandals passed the Rhine frontier, crossed arms with the Goths in Spain, then sought new fields of conquest in north Africa, pounding at the doors of Carthage at the time that Augustine was dying, in 430. About a hundred years later the Vandal kingdom fell a prey to the military genius of Belisarius, Justinian's lieutenant. The Burgundians settled more peacefully in what is now eastern France.

The East Goths in 493 established under their truly great leader, Theodoric, a short-lived kingdom in Italy. Here we have the first intimations of the constructive work later to be attempted on a much larger scale by the invaders. Foundations were being laid.

This kingdom, which had stood for some method of amalgamation with the Græco-Roman world, also succumbed to the superior power of Justinian in 555. About the middle of the preceding century northern tribes began to make raids upon the British coast, and from their names, the Angles and the Saxons, has come the term Anglo-Saxon, which now describes the inhabitants of that region. The wild horsemen, known as the Huns, need merely to be mentioned because of the temporary disturbance they created when they, bent upon destruction rather than conquest, suddenly crashed into bewildered Europe. At Chalons in 451 they met defeat and were forced to retreat.

The most important invasion from the standpoint of later history was that of the Franks. They settled in north central Europe and were welded into one great tribe by Clovis, whose conversion to the orthodox faith in 496 was of the utmost significance. It spelled the doom of the Arian heresy, when the Franks slowly gained the ascendency over other tribes. It prepared the way for the alliance between the papacy and the Franks, about which much European history is centered. It was also a factor in the spread of the church and in the defeat of Islam in Gaul. Charles Martel, as mayor of the palace who directed the destinies of the Franks, drove back the Mohammedan wave at the battle of Tours in 732 and thus saved western Europe from the fate which later befell the East.

Another Germanic invasion of deep import to Italy and to the papacy was that of the Lombards in 568. For two centuries their kingdom in northern Italy checked the growing political power of the papacy. Curiously enough, they promoted it likewise by undermining the influence of Constantinople in the West, and by forcing the pope in his distress at their own aggression to call upon the powerful Frankish king for aid. Pippin the Short had received the pope's approval in 751 of the seizure of the kingly title,[3] since he already had the kingly power. A few years later he had the opportunity to reciprocate. By him the Lombards were forced to give up their recent conquests to the papacy out of which were then formed the "States of the Church."

By the middle of the eighth century the first wave of the barbarian inundation had spent itself. A settled life began to appear and the Dark Ages to depart. For a century or more all realms of life felt the stimulus of a new renascence until the ravages of the Northmen, the Saracens, and the Hungarians again darkened the horizon of Europe's life. In this period we enter the Mediæval Age proper, to the significance of which we now direct our attention.

C. THE MEDIEVAL MIND REFLECTED IN MOVEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS

A survey of the characteristic expressions and creations of the Middle Ages with the chief emphasis upon their religious and ecclesiastical aspects ought to reveal the salient features of this baffling but intensely fascinating period.

1. The Church. The all-dominating influence in this period was that which emanated from the church. In a very turbulent age this institution represented the supreme and during the early period the only sanction of law and order; in an age of religious credulity it posed as the sole ark of salvation; in an age which still felt the mighty spell of ancient Rome it stood as the very embodiment of the ancient tradition and authority; in an age which bowed in awe before supernatural manifestations it claimed to be the sole dispenser of supernatural truth and life. Except at certain periods when strong secular rulers

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[3] Like his father, Charles Martel, Pippin held the office of a chief adviser, or administrator, known as mayor of the palace. Since he had the power, he desired also the name of king.

held sway, it was the church through the papacy which dominated all spheres of life. Strength which resides in unity was usually found in the puissant papal head of the vast ecclesiastical empire rather than in the numerous barons, counts, dukes, and kings of the secular realm. During a large part of the Middle Ages the church was not merely a religious institution as we use the term but an institution which controlled education and learning, dispensed political favors, granted dispensations, and frequently interfered in the social and economic affairs of men.

Even as an instrument of religion the church stands apart from the usual Protestant conception of such an institution. It was decidedly not a "congregation of saints" of the later Puritan type. Neither was it a voluntary organization of religiously minded people. It was essentially a vast ecclesiastical system of assumed supernatural origin, constituted by its priesthood and governed by the hierarchy with the pope at the head. Through the channels of its sacramental system alone, so it held, could divine grace for salvation be received. By this time the sacraments had become seven in number[4] and their efficacy generally acknowledged. Holy Orders assumed a significance far beyond that originally ascribed to them. In a sense we may call ordination the key to all the other sacraments, for it was taught that the latter became efficacious through the ministration of *ordained* persons. An indelible character was impressed upon the priest by this consecration to holy office which differentiated him from the laity. Although monks had originally been laymen they were later ordained and allowed to participate in the sacred privileges of the priesthood.

Moreover, in the creation and the employment of the elaborate penitential system mediæval Catholicism presents a characteristic that is unique. Sins and misdemeanors of every color and degree were carefully tabulated, for each of which a corresponding penance was imposed. Since the sin in question was an offense against the holy church, the latter alone could impose the penalty, receive the satisfactions, and pronounce the forgiveness. Out of this arose a vast network of equivalences, the secret or auricular confessional, the practice of indulgence, the belief in the extension of papal authority to the souls in purgatory, and the imposition of punitive judgments such as excommunication and the interdict. The confessional permitted the penitent to confess his sins privately and to receive from his priest, the representative of God, the desired absolution. Indulgences usually referred to the remission of a penance which had been imposed by the church (priest) after which the absolved individual was given an opportunity to prove the genuineness of his contrition. Payment of money which was to be applied to some sacred cause might answer as well as the performance of some work of contrition. The doctrine of purgatory, a place or condition of purification beyond this world, gave the church (pope) a chance to increase enormously the hold it already had over the lives of men. Not only in this world but even in the beyond a man was absolutely dependent upon the offices of his church. Excommunication cut off all possibility of enjoying the fruits of communion (salvation) with the only saving institution, until the church re-established connections. The interdict was merely the extension of this terrible penalty to a whole province, and even nation, whenever a ruler grievously sinned against the church. The ecclesiastical ban was lifted when the proper reparations were made by the sovereign prince.

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[4] Baptism, the Eucharist (mass), Ordination, Confirmation, Penance, Marriage, and Extreme Unction.

The church entered so prominently into all the affairs of men, appealed so strongly to their hopes in this world and to their fears for the next, spoke with such a commanding authority and acted with such an imposing superiority, that the laymen throughout the greater part of the period were completely in its power. Another power, however, arose to contest that primacy in its claim to the name of holy, in its demand for a share of the inheritance of Roman prestige, and in its monopoly of imperial authority.

2. The Holy Roman Empire. One of the peculiar beliefs of a believing age was that Rome actually was eternal. The magnificent Roman Empire had cast its spell upon mankind. Its dead and buried star of empire was reclaimed, first by the church and then, in a measure, by the empire. When the great son of Pippin the Short came to Rome in the year 800, after having created in fifty military campaigns a vast empire which included the western half of Europe, with the exception of the larger part of Spain and the southern half of Italy, it was perfectly proper that he should be acclaimed the *Imperator* of the West. As such he was crowned by the pope and as such he was acknowledged even by the Byzantine Empire at Constantinople. Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, the recipient of this honor, was regarded as the logical successor of the Cæsars, hence the embodiment of Roman imperial authority in the West. That this dream burst as a bubble soon after the death of this titanic Teuton did not trouble the mediæval mind. The idea lived on despite the actual break-up of the empire and in 962 it was revived and given a somewhat different expression by the genius of Otto I, the Germanic ruler.

The Holy Roman Empire thus received its spirit from ancient Rome and its body from Charlemagne and Otto the Great. The latter and his successors regarded Rome as the capital and center, though actually it seldom was that, and Germany with its dependencies as the body politic. Until the rise of strong modern states the supreme secular authority was vested in the empire. In theory it shared that authority with the papacy, in practice it sought a monopoly of it. The continual struggle for supremacy between the two fills many pages of history, an account of which will be given below.

3. The Carolingian Renaissance. The lifework of Charlemagne, greatest of barbarian chiefs, is epochal from the standpoint of statecraft as well as from the side of culture. With him end the Dark Ages. His promotion of learning, though himself never able to write, his sincere interest in the mental as well as the spiritual uplift of his polyglot empire, and his patronage of scholars and schools ushered in a period which was so much brighter than that which preceded and followed it that the term Carolingian[5] Renaissance has been applied to it. It lasted less than two centuries, for it was brought to a close when the northern and other barbarians brought upon Europe a new dark age.

In a letter to an abbot Charles complained of the clergy's lack of knowledge. This defect he strove to remedy. The Palace School was enlarged and a noted English scholar, Alcuin, placed at the head. The monastic and cathedral schools were improved and village schools projected. Besides the common liberal arts studies the classics were studied, not for their own sake but for their value in promoting the clergyman's use of Latin. The organ was introduced at this time, consisting of a limited number of keys which had to be pounded with the fists. Theology was, of course, the chief professional study and the clergy virtually the only class that could be called literate. Because of its practical value, law also received attention, while many old Germanic laws were reduced to writing.

Perhaps the most notable development of this renewal came to expression in a number of theological controversies which dealt with questions relating to the person of Christ (Adoptionist), to the reality of Christ's presence in the sacrament of the Lord's supper (Transubstantiation), and to the predestinating activity of God.[6] The orthodox views, inherited from the past, generally prevailed after the innovator had been either silenced or imprisoned. The brightest intellect of the period was undoubtedly that strange philosopher who has been called a nineteenth-century thinker of the ninth century. John Scotus Erigena was, in fact, so far ahead of his day that his views were not condemned as heretical until the thirteenth century. By his translation of a work extolling ecclesiasticism and mysticism, known as *The Heavenly Hierarchy,* a production of the East and ascribed to Saint Paul's contemporary, Dionysius the Areopagite, Erigena was instrumental in introducing into the West a speculative mystical strain which normally would have been foreign to the practical mind of Latin Christianity. Mediæval mysticism struck root, flowered out toward the close of the period, and in its classical exponents gave evidence of indebtedness to Erigena, the glory of the Carolingian Renaissance.

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[5] From the Latin of Charles, *Carolus*.

4. Feudalism. The Carolingian Empire did not long remain intact after the death of its creator in 814. The latter's grandsons agreed to a threefold partition in the Treaty of Verdun in 843 which corresponds roughly with the present political divisions. Disintegration increased speedily until little semblance of government was left. The substitute for ordered government that gradually arose is known as feudalism. It became a sort of compromise between the established order and the disturbing elements of the time. Old Roman elements and more recent Germanic practices combined with the desire

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[6] A detailed discussion of these conflicts is found elsewhere. See Chapter XXI.

on the part of the oppressed for protection of life and property to produce it.

In its threefold aspects feudalism represented economic, social, and political features. The first, the landed or territorial element, is known as the feudal grant (whence the term). Land was the basis of wealth, and the feudalization of it was agreed to and arranged for, in order to protect it. Transformation of free soil into feudal tenure usually occurred in two ways—(1) a sovereign prince parting with land to get support, and (2) the owner of land giving it to a more powerful neighbor for the sake of protection and receiving it back as a fief.[7] The second or personal element resulted in the peculiar class distinctions of the time and is known as vassalage. This refers to the relationship which existed between the lord who protected and his followers or henchmen who served him in various capacities. A great number of regulations were drawn up to determine mutual obligations and the penalties for the infringement of these. The third or governmental element, immunity, gave the holder of a fief the right to govern his fief unmolested. All lords had thus a measure of political independence, the most powerful alone, however, enjoying complete sovereignty.

Into this system the church as the largest landholder was irresistibly drawn. Bishoprics and monasteries frequently entered into feudal relationships. Sometimes they became the prey of neighboring nobles, at other times bishops and abbots voluntarily rendered homage to secular lords as a matter of self-protection. Country churches could not escape the general practice. On one occasion an abbot gave a nobleman sixty churches on condition that the latter raise three hundred men to defend the monastery. In other cases nobles placed themselves under the protection of a strong ecclesiastical lord. Friction could not be avoided, especially when the church claimed that lands consecrated to the church were inalienable and the secular powers insisted that church lands becoming fiefs owed feudal obligations like the rest. The inability to resolve this tangle led to the investiture strife.[8] Lessening of the tension was not possible until feudalism itself as an institution decayed and disappeared.

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[7] There were about three hundred different kinds of fiefs, land being by far the most important.

5. The Crusades. The outstanding and most distinctive mediæval movement was the Crusades. For two centuries (1095-1291) western Christian states and principalities sustained continuous relations, with hostile intensifications, with the military power of Islam. The chief cause consequently centered in the fact of Mohammedan aggression. This became a serious matter for Christendom when the Turks, an untamed Asiatic race, swarmed down in 1071 upon the Asiatic possessions of the Saracens and the Christians. Although they accepted the Mohammedan faith they seemed constitutionally incapable of assimilating the Saracenic culture and refinement. When Palestine fell and Christian pilgrims visiting the holy places were mistreated and killed, Europe awoke to find itself facing a new terror.

This energetic religious faith began in 622, when Mohammed, an Arabian prophet, fled from Mecca to Medina to preach a holy crusade.[9] Under the preaching and military campaigns of this remarkable character the movement gained such momentum that under his successors in a period of eighty years more territory was covered than Rome had acquired in a number of centuries. All north Africa and the Spanish peninsula and a large part of western Asia fell to Islam.[10] Having been checked in the West, as we have seen, it concentrated in the East. Constantinople called for aid. The pope responded.

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[8] See below on the conflict between papacy and empire.

[9] This flight is called *The Hegira* and begins the Mohammedan calendar.

[10] From the word meaning submission, a cardinal doctrine with this religion.

Other contributary causes were the need for economic expansion, the desire for adventure, the hope of spiritual rewards promised by the church to the loyal knights of the cross, and the lusting for those material rewards which conquest and plunder held in prospect. At first the aim to make the world safe for the faithful was in the forefront; later the expeditions developed into a selfish scramble for power and plunder.

The First Crusade was inaugurated at the Council of Clermont in 1095 by the passionate pleading of a returned pilgrim, Peter the Hermit, energetically supported by Pope Urban II. After the loss by hunger and sword of the advance army, the main division, under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon, captured Jerusalem, in 1099. An orgy of massacre was indulged in after which Godfrey was crowned king of Jerusalem and a Latin feudal state created. Although sponsored by the magnetic and influential personality of Saint Bernard, the Second Crusade, in 1147, was a miserable failure. When the Saracenic chief, Saladin, captured Jerusalem, Europe awakened to the danger. The result was the Third Crusade (1189-1192), which was led by the three greatest rulers of Europe. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa perished at the head of his army while crossing a stream. The two others, King Richard of England and King Philip Augustus of France, reached Palestine but nullified most of their efforts by constant bickering for position.

One of the smallest but most important of the military expeditions was that which, through the crafty advice of Venice, was directed not toward Palestine but toward Constantinople. The establishment of a Latin kingdom in the famous metropolis (1204-1261) not only brought the Greek Church under the sway of the papacy but weakened the Eastern Empire and increased the hatred between the conquered and the conqueror. Venice, the pearl of the Adriatic, gained what she wanted—a monopoly of the trade. The "Children's Crusade" of 1212 failed of its objective and is chiefly significant in its reflection of the peculiar atmosphere of the times. Thousands perished on the way. The remainder were sold into Mohammedan slavery. From the point of view of diplomatic success the honor belongs to a mighty monarch, Frederick II, who, curiously enough, while under the ban of papal excommunication, obtained his ends without the shedding of blood. In 1244, however, the Holy City was permanently lost. Later expeditions were relatively insignificant. Europe had lost its interest in the movement. Thus when the last Christian stronghold in Palestine, Acre, fell in 1291, few seemed to care.

When viewed from the angle of their immediate objective the Crusades were a failure. Palestine was lost despite extravagant sacrifices in life and money. Papal prestige suffered because of numerous failures. Constant strife between jealous leaders and selfish interests promoted a divisive spirit within the church at the expense of the higher Christian standards. The appeal to the lower passions sometimes placed the Christian forces on a plane below that of their foe.

When the indirect or remote effects are considered, however, the Crusaders may be said to have wrought mightily even though unconsciously in the creation of new forces and tendencies coincident with the weakening of older forms and customs. The spirit of provincialism received a decided check in the widening of Europe's mental horizon. Contact with the Saracenic civilization reacted in favor of a higher culture, a greater appreciation of the popular tongue (in place of the Latin), and a less prejudiced attitude toward the Muslim faith. Because of the development of new trade routes, wealth increased so rapidly that it hastened the rise of that class which was derisively called the Third Estate. Feudalism was weakened and national consciousness correspondingly strengthened as kings took advantage of their warring nobility and as the common people, engaged in common tasks, became better acquainted. A number of semi-monastic military orders arose to protect the sacred shrines and the pilgrims. The Knights Templars[11] (1119) and the Knights Hospitallers[12] (1120) were originally missionary in spirit and devoted to a worthy task. Later both became exceedingly wealthy and viciously luxurious and self-seeking. These orders were also instrumental in forcing chivalry to become organized. In the practical world of farming and industry the effects were advantageous as western Europe became acquainted with better methods in agriculture, with irrigation, and with a number of important new products, such as rice, hemp, citrous fruits, muslins, damask, and silk. In medicine and in chemistry advance was registered since less dependence was put in saints' bones and sacred shrines and more reliance placed upon pharmacy and surgery.

In short, the stimulus felt in many fields of endeavor not only enriched and refined a rude, barbaric Europe, but also energized its motive powers and enlarged its vision.

6. Conflict between Papacy and Empire. A less spectacular warfare than the Crusades but equally influential in the life of the West was the gigantic struggle for the supremacy between the two great powers of Europe, the papacy and the empire. Two opposing theories actually were at war. The fact that the mediæval man worshiped theory aggravated the intensity of the strife. The papal theory declared for the supremacy of the pope as the sole vicar of

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[11] Received their name from their headquarters near the Temple.

[12] So called because of their connection with a famous hospital in Jerusalem near the Church of Saint John the Baptist.

Christ. As the moon reflected the light of the sun so temporal authority had its existence merely by divine sufferance. Had not the pope crowned Charlemagne emperor? He who gives is greater than he who receives. The Bible, tradition, and historical development appeared to give much support to the papal contention. As a matter of fact, a great mission had been performed by this institution. The majority of people long regarded it with loving affection. Furthermore, one dared not readily trifle with him who could remit the sins of those in purgatory and who held the keys to heaven.

The imperial argument ran as follows: God had ordained the secular power as well as the spiritual for the rule of the world. These two were to be complementary, the one to the other. The spiritual sword and the temporal sword were thus to work in harmony, each supreme in its own field. Roman law was utilized to bolster up this claim while the archives of history were ransacked to give credence to it. It was alleged that the empire created by Charlemagne and re-established by Otto I was the real continuation of the ancient Roman Empire. And usually strong rulers made good this claim. Equally strong popes frequently made it appear ridiculous.

Into this three-century long strife we cannot enter except to sketch the course it took. As long as Charlemagne lived he was master of the situation, with the bishop of Rome acting merely as a spiritual adviser. Following the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, however, the papacy gained ground increasingly as it presented a unified front and a consistent policy against the divided secular powers with their uncertain objectives. In men like Nicholas I, Gregory VII, Alexander III, and Innocent III, character and leadership combined, with far-seeing statecraft and a definite uniform policy tenaciously adhered to, to give the victory to the papacy.[13] Belief in the supernatural powers at the disposal of the church and the prevailing atmosphere of credulity which permitted the ready acceptance of documents like the Forged Decretals[14] all played into the hands of a hierarchy bent upon world conquest. That this conquest aimed at the spiritual well-being of the world made its inauguration and fulfillment all the more to be desired. The means sometimes adopted were questionable, the degradation to which the state had to submit was a form of slavery, but the end was always declared to be worthy and pure. God must reign on this earth, and the church through the papacy was the instrument to make that reign actual.

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[13] For detailed study consult chapter on the papacy.

At certain stages in the struggle, when Roman factions or, still worse, disreputable occupants besmirched the papal office, imperial power was exerted in behalf of more worthy claimants to the chair of Saint Peter. Otto the Great thus came as a purifying agent about the middle of the tenth century, to be followed a century later by Henry III. The latter was forced to depose three rival popes and in the name of decency actually to control papal elections. Though the end in view appeared noble, a reaction in favor of an independent papal institution immediately appeared in the reforms generally known as Hildebrandine after their chief exponent, Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII.

The clashing powers then centered their efforts in the attempt to control the election of ecclesiastical lords to their respective feudal holdings. Papal claims to freedom of election and imperial claims to the allegiance of all their feudal ecclesiastical lords by reason of their lay investiture led to the great Investiture Struggle. A personal compromise in 1111 between Pope Paschal II and the Emperor Henry V was too revolutionary at the expense of the church, since it gave to Henry virtually all the temporal possessions held by the bishops in Germany. This prepared the way, however, for a working agreement effected in the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which granted free canonical elections, with the provision that the emperor should relinquish the right of investiture with the ring and staff, while retaining that of investiture with the touch of the scepter. Both church and state retained a measure of those rights and privileges about which each was most sensitive.

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[14] These were documents alleged to have been issued by early popes in the interest of papal supremacy and primacy.

This settlement proved to be a calm before the storm. Frederick I (Barbarossa) magnified imperial prerogative to such an extent that not merely the papacy but also a newly created Lombard League of cities in northern Italy took alarm. The subsequent defeat of the imperial forces compelled the emperor in the treaty of Constance, 1183, to recognize the independence of the Italian city-states, a real landmark in political history.

Innocent III, who was the next great pope, succeeding the one (Alexander III) who had aided in the humiliation of the Imperial House, drew all secular powers as satellites about the Holy See. Papal triumph seemed to be permanent despite the energetic counter attacks of the brilliant Emperor Frederick II (1220-1250). Soon after his death the empire rapidly disintegrated, ushering in a period of lawlessness known as the Great Interregnum (1254-1273). The House of Hohenstaufen was vanquished when its last representative perished in 1270 and, although the famous Hapsburg[15] dynasty carried on, the spirit of mediæval imperialism was broken.

After the triumph of the great popes, which issued in the temporary destruction of the Holy Roman Empire in the middle of the thirteenth century, the place of the latter was taken largely by the rising power of national states, particularly France, England, and Spain. The first of the three mentioned turned the tables when the French king brought the downfall of the haughty Pope Boniface VIII in 1303 at Anagni. Henceforth in captivity for two generations, then managing to live through the humiliating experience of a long period of schism when two popes claimed sole authority, the institution reached the lowest depths of degradation. The Reformation, as we shall see, brought further curtailment of power, while the spirit of nationalism, now on the throne, has almost succeeded in making all churches, including that with its eternal center in Rome, appendages of the state. As regards the mediæval struggle, it can readily be seen that both contesting groups lost more than they gained.

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[15] The Hapsburg line ended in 1918, though the Holy Roman Empire had previously come to a belated end when Napoleon in 1806 laid its ghost.

CHAPTER VII

MEDIÆVAL TYPES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A. THE GLORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE chief creative activities of the period appear in the realm of the mind rather than in the realm of practical activity. Intensive contemplation and a marvelously patient application of the mental processes characterize much of the period at its height. This spirit and this mental attitude found their primary outlet in the movement called Scholasticism, their secondary expression in the mystical way and in the realms of literature and architecture.

1. Scholasticism. This movement received its name because of its origin in the schools of the day. The early monastic and cathedral schools had multiplied and enlarged their facilities, receiving the designation of university (from *universitas,* meaning association or corporation) by the twelfth century. At first they constituted merely an association of teachers and scholars under a definite set of rules. The three prominent early universities were Salerno, which stressed the study of medicine, Bologna emphasizing law, and Paris with its interest in theology. The chief causes for the rise of these scholastic corporations were the revival of Roman law in the twelfth century, and the influences emanating from the Saracenic culture through which the West became better acquainted with Aristotle. The dialectical reasoning of the great Greek philosopher was to become the organizing principle of high Scholasticism. Other causes can be found in the rise of free independent cities, each of which desired to have its own school, the patronage of rulers, and the introduction

of new material for study. The movement spread rapidly and became so dominant that all knowledge and truth were put into a scholastic mold.

a. Nature of Scholasticism. Scholasticism has been defined as the attempt to extract knowledge from the consciousness by formal reasoning instead of by observation and experiment. The basic study was theology, the queen of the sciences, with very little consideration given to what we call natural science. The world in which man lived was almost totally neglected as an object of study. Man was so exclusively regarded as a candidate for heaven that the supernatural crowded out the natural. In such an atmosphere there was no room for scientific observation and weighing of natural phenomena. Moreover, truth was regarded as something already given, a deposit which the church was divinely commissioned to guard and to dispense to the world. Hence methods of deductive reasoning from the general truth to the particular rather than inductive reasoning on the basis of original investigation and observation of particular facts of the natural world prevailed throughout the greater part of the period. When Roger Bacon (1214-1294) attempted the latter, he was branded a heretic and punished by long imprisonment.

The outstanding textbook was a digest in four books of the authoritative statements of the past. Since these were compiled by Peter Lombard (twelfth century), they were called Lombard's Sentences. They so fully met the needs of the age in the presentation of the subjects, God, Man, Salvation, Sacraments, and the Last Things, and in the use of dialectics in the interpretation of the authorities, that the *Four Books of Sentences* were not superseded until the Renaissance brought in new interests. Dependence upon authority reveals another characteristic of this movement. The authoritative teachers of the past were felt to be in essential agreement. Authorities were the Scriptures, Augustine, the Fathers, the creeds, and among pagan writers notably Aristotle, Plato, and Virgil. Augustine and Aristotle became the twin arbiters of mediæval intellectualism, the former by his theology and terminology, the latter by his marvelous dialectic.

b. Realism and Nominalism. Two schools of thought came out of the movement in a spirited contest for leadership. The realists contended that universals or general concepts existed before or in connection with individual objects. The latter, as the particular or species, had existence only as a part or copy of the universal concept or genera. Thus the individual horse existed only as part of the general concept, horse, or, as we might say, the horse in general. The theological implications were important, for, to cite one instance, the church was viewed as having its real existence in the mind of God as a universal. According to this view, had there been no individuals, there would nevertheless have been a church. The present, visible church institution was thus a copy of its universal prototype. In like manner, the idea of man was a prototype of the individual man.

The nominalists countered this argument with the statement that the general concept or universal was merely a convenient human invention to designate the individuals that were alike. It was a mere "breath of the voice" and had no real existence. Real existence belonged not to the general idea but to the individual, the particular thing. Thus individual horses, not any idea of horse in general, constituted the only real existence in the world of horses. For the same reason reality must be denied the universal, for example, the church in general. The only church that existed was that which was actually seen on earth and composed of those individuals who were its members. It was not an abstraction in the mind of God, though it was divine in origin and nature.

These two lines of thought, ably sponsored by the doctors, had manifold implications. Both the dogma and the polity of the church were affected. The realists explained the Trinity, transubstantiation, and other doctrines in terms of the reality of universals, while their opponents presented them differently. What is known as institutionalism obviously found the former approach more congenial to its interests, since it stressed the reality and the importance of the genus, the church, instead of the species, the individuals who might be found within its pale. Realism thus proved to be a valuable ally of the hierarchy whenever support was needed for the institution, while, on the other hand, the radical doctrines of the supremacy of the General Council or the right of private judgment found their logical defenders among the nominalists. As a result, the papacy flourished when realism was at its height in the thirteenth century and gave evident signs of decay when the democratic principles embedded in the opposing school of thought came to the front in the next century. Nominalism, with its emphasis upon the individual, upon the right of the common people to be heard through their representatives, was consequently of no slight significance in the preparation for the Reformation.

c. Development in Scholasticism. In the development of Scholasticism three stages may be easily discerned. The first period presents the two schools of thought in active conflict, the second sees realism triumphant, while the third witnesses the victory of nominalism. The first stage centered about the problem of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. Berengar of Tours upheld the nominalist position in his denial of the truth of the transubstantiation doctrine, while Anselm (d. 1109), the Father of the Schoolmen, defended it by similar dialectical processes. Greater than the fame which this archbishop of Canterbury achieved as the spokesman of realism was that which came to him as the enunciator of the satisfaction theory of the atonement. He likewise gave to his age its motto, "I believe in order that I may understand," and its regulative principle that all truth could be proved by the correct use of dialectic reasoning.

A later contemporary of Anselm was Abelard (d. 1142), who reversed the former's motto in his statement, "I understand that I may believe." The antithesis goes still further, however, for Abelard ran counter to many of the convictions of his age. His critical spirit and analytical mind seemed out of place in that time. Over against Anselm he sponsored the moral influence theory of the atonement, against the tendencies of the times he upheld a doctrine of the Trinity that was virtually Sabellian and a critical view of tradition and the authorities of the past that was nothing less than heretical. As such he was branded by the influential exponent of orthodoxy, Saint Bernard, who had him condemned and deposed. The most notable contribution of this intellectual stimulator was his work, *Sic et non—Yes and No*—in which he placed over against each other the contradictory passages of the ancient authorities. Reason, he asserted, and not mere authority or tradition, should decide the truth of doctrine. Unfortunately for him the Middle Ages were not prepared to go the way of the historical approach. After a stormy career in which he reached the heights of popularity as the greatest teacher of his day, he was forced to end his days in a monastery, broken in heart and generally rejected of men.

Toward the close of the twelfth century a much wider knowledge of Aristotle was gained through the work of Jewish scholars, who, in turn, had obtained their editions from the centers of Saracenic culture in Spain. Still better editions came directly from Constantinople after its capture by the Fourth Crusade. With this knowledge of Aristotle as a basis, scholasticism entered its golden age when realism in its greatest exponents was able to utilize the most complete system of dialectics. Aristotle now gained the ascendency, while Plato receded into the background, although the mystical as reflected in him and in Augustine was not entirely obscured. Leading names in this expansive development were usually members of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, notably the latter.

d. Thomas Aquinas. Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) and Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), Englishman and German respectively, in their moderate realism, vast learning, and synthesizing work, prepared the way for the paragon of Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). In Thomas Aquinas Scholasticism offered its highest and its best. The prophecy of his teacher, Albertus Magnus, was fulfilled when he said, "We call him a dumb ox (called thus because of his retiring nature), but he will yet turn out a teacher whose voice will be heard through the whole world." Because of his learning, his skill in systematizing all the learning of the day, his genius in harmonizing the warm mysticism of Plato with the cold intellectualism of Aristotle and this resultant with the ecclesiasticism of the church, he not only set the standards for his age but for the modern Roman Catholic Church as well. Harnack feels that his achievement must be called a work of art, while Rashdall suggests[1] that our modern reconciliations must be grounded in the conviction which Aquinas has given us, namely, "that religion is rational and that reason is divine, and that all knowledge and all truth must be capable of harmonious adjustment." He stressed concepts that have engaged the serious thought of men ever since, concepts which had to do with the supremacy of reason, the relation of faith and reason, or grace and nature, the value of the human personality, the place of grace and merit in man's salvation, and the centrality of God in the whole process. It was due in large measure to his logical acumen and cogency of reasoning that many doctrines were more definitely fixed in the mind of the church.

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[1] In his work, *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 367.

The great work which contains his contributions is called *The Sum of Theology.* It is one of the masterpieces of the church and easily gives its author an honored place among the supreme systematic theologians of all time. At the present time an attempt is being made to revive his theology in a movement known as "The New Scholasticism," of which Cardinal Mercier, of Belgium, was an outstanding exponent.

Aquinas made a distinction between those things that could be rationally understood and those which were above reason, and, unlike Anselm, declared philosophical reasoning incapable of demonstrating all the truths of religion. Thus revelation came in to complete the circle of truth where reason was forced to stop. Since the Scriptures contained this revelation they constituted the final authority provided that they were interpreted by the church. On other doctrines and practices of the church, such as the sacraments, penance, the relation between divine grace and human merit, confession, and the treasury of merits, Aquinas spoke the mind of his age. He had the good fortune, likewise, to have as his popularizer the great poet Dante, whose masterpiece, the *Divine Comedy,* faithfully reflects the theology of mediæval orthodoxy.

e. John Duns Scotus. The angelic doctor[2] met an intellectual foe worthy of his mettle in the *doctor subtilis,* John Duns Scotus (d. 1308). The controversy which the latter inaugurated between his followers, the Scotists, and the Thomists, adherents of

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[2] Many of the leading theologians received names characteristic of their thought of life. Aquinas received the appellation *angelicus* because of his deeply religious, saintly life.

Aquinas, lasted until the Reformation. The importance of Scotus, however, is due to other considerations. Although a realist in his philosophy, his emphasis upon the individual and his severe critical attitude caused him to undermine that school of thought. His contention that the doctrines of the church could not be philosophically proved started the disintegrating process within Scholasticism. His doctrine of God as Absolute and arbitrary will issued in a modification of other doctrines which the reasoning of Anselm, Aquinas and others had made orthodox. In one question of dispute, at least, that of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, the Catholic Church gave him a belated laurel wreath of victory. Finally, his contribution to the use of the inductive method classes him with the forerunner of modern science, Roger Bacon (d. 1294). The latter, however, had greater practical interests.

f. Decline of Scholasticism. The third and declining period of Scholasticism began in the fourteenth century when the pupil of Scotus, William of Occam (d. 1349), not only boldly attacked realism but made nominalism itself seemingly of little practical value. For he asserted that doctrines as such were intellectually indefensible by any process of reasoning; they were to be accepted solely on the authority of the church. That might suffice for a credulous age. For one still interested in a rational defense of Christian truth it ultimately was found wanting. In its declining years nominalism made way for mysticism, not without having made its contribution to the coming age, however. This was unwittingly done by its weakening of Scholasticism and its increasing criticism of the traditional doctrines of the church. Although a realist, Wiclif (died 1384) accepted this radical approach and made it extremely effective in his attack upon ecclesiastical corruption and doctrinal errors. He was the last of the schoolmen.

g. Results of Scholasticism. As already intimated Scholasticism was not a much ado about nothing. It developed an intellectual acuteness, an emphasis upon systematic statement, and a desire for harmony and synthesis that were of inestimable value to the future. Contrary to a prevalent notion, the Middle Ages magnified reason. When Scholasticism reigned supreme we find little evidence of a superpiety issuing from a subintelligence. Even though success did not invariably crown their efforts, the leaders in the movement sought to make piety commendable to the highest reason.

Fatal defects, however, were embedded in the system. It was held within the meshes of theory, was limited and determined by authority with too little consideration for facts. Its field of study was narrow, circumscribed by its inordinate worship of theology and its rigid separation of the natural and the supernatural. Its Scriptural interpretation was literalistic and of the proof-text variety. And finally, in its later stages, much energy was wasted in prolonged serious debate about inconsequential matters, such as the question as to the number of angels that could dance upon the point of a needle. No wonder that increasing numbers turned away from arid intellectualism to find solace for the soul in mysticism.

2. Mysticism. Because mysticism is an attitude toward the spiritual world, a way of life rather than a system, it is difficult to define. It may be termed that emphasis upon religion which makes it essentially an immediate awareness of God. It is a personal relation that is established and primarily promoted by renunciation, prayer, and meditation even apart from the ordinary rites and offices of the church. The latter may be utilized, as mystics sometimes did, but they are not essential.

a. Origin of Western Mysticism. In the earlier and in the great schoolmen strong mystical tendencies were occasionally found. The emphasis upon contemplation, direct vision, and religious intuition as immediate avenues of approach to Deity has been present in many ages, but in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries it came to its classical expression. Through Augustine on his mystical side and through Erigena's translation of the mystical work, *The Heavenly Hierarchy,* mysticism as stressed in Neo-Platonism found a lodging place in western Europe. This important treatise was believed to have been written by Dionysius, a contemporary of Saint Paul, else it would never have been able to acquire such a commanding influence over the Latin mind of the West. Contemplative mysticism of the Oriental type, joined with pantheistic vagaries and depending upon visions, ecstasies, negations, and abnormal experiences for the attainment of union with the Divine, began to filter in and capture the imagination of those who desired to express an extreme religiosity. In some individuals this type of abstract mysticism was relieved by a practical interest in life that obviated the evil effects which otherwise would have been present. Extravagances associated with this way of life were most frequently to be found in the speculative mystic, whose aloofness, desire for solitude, and use of incoherent language to express his rapturous experiences tended to alienate him from the common religious life. The movement as a whole, however, expressed an intensity of religious devotion, an insight into the verities of the spiritual world, that was refreshing and wholesome in an age all too prone to identify religion with formalism and officialism.

b. The Mysticism of Saint Francis. A less pretentious and officious, but more wholesome, winsome, and permanently influential exponent of the mystic way was the spiritual "wonder of the world," Saint Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). As founder of the Franciscans he is referred to elsewhere. As the saint of mysticism we shall briefly consider him here. He did not possess a mind of the first magnitude, his ethical motivation was not always thoroughly thought through, and his attitude toward learning was one of distrust, but in his sweetly tempered spirit, his out-and-out sincerity, his humility, joy, humanness, and absolute faith in the all-conquering power of love, he stands unsurpassed. Mystical union with Christ was carried to such a length that visions and ecstatic experiences were alleged to have been his even to the stigmata of the Crucified.[3] Abnormal experiences, however, neither inflated his self-importance nor obscured his passion for humanity. Instead, they seemed to give him the dynamic which sent him about doing all the good he could. His mysticism was social. That kept him sane, balanced, and remarkably free from spiritualistic extravagances.

c. Bernard of Clairvaux. Saint Bernard was an exponent of mysticism at its best. We have already met him as Europe's guardian of the true faith, but it is in his personal religious life that he appeals most strongly to us. Bernard was thoroughly sincere in his motives and personally true to the ascetic ideal, but he always kept on good terms with the church organization. The members of the hierarchy, including the pope, often withered under the stinging rebukes administered by the zealous reformer. They could not but respect him, who was, as it were, the conscience of the church. The intensity of his loyalty to Christ, which took the form of a mystic contemplation of Christ, a "Jesus-mysticism," may have been extravagant, but it set the standard of spirituality, advocated and lived as it was by the most powerful personality of the century. Despite the outcropping of a censorious and intolerant disposition, the failings of the heart, we cannot withhold our meed of praise from this typical exemplar of mediæval piety.

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[3] He is said to have borne upon his hands and feet the nail wounds of Jesus and on his body the spear wound.

d. Arnold's Ideal of Poverty. One of Bernard's most bitter foes, yet one who wished to apply the great mystic's ideal of poverty to the whole church, was the social radical, Arnold of Brescia. The poverty ideal of the mystic way, he claimed, was the only salvation of the church, drunk with power and gorged with wealth. Outraged orthodoxy in the person of the church's supreme censor, Bernard, supported the pope in the latter's endeavor to get rid of the dangerous heretic. After a brief and hectic reign in the city of Rome from which he had had the pope expelled, the iconoclast was finally captured and put to an ignominious death. Apostolic poverty was a commendable ideal for individuals or religious orders, but the hierarchy would have none of it.

e. Later Mystics. Among the schoolmen were a number with deep mystical leaning. Aquinas and the talented administrator of the Franciscans, Bonaventura (1221-1274), belonged to this group. In the mysticism of Meister Eckhart (d. 1326) we reach the heights of the speculative type. Although the papal bull of 1327 asserted "that he wished to know more than he should" because his speculations led him into uncharted seas of thought, it was he who placed service to man above the blissful experience of rapture. Had mysticism always followed his wise injunction that a man must pour out in love what he takes in by contemplation, it would have had a history more immune to criticism. Eckhart was blessed in his followers, among whom the extreme ascetic, Henry Suso (d. 1366), and the great preacher and practical reformer, John Tauler (d. 1361), stand pre-eminent. The latter, with Catherine of Siena (d. 1380), were exponents of a sane type of mysticism, exhibiting an intense interest in communal and world affairs as well as in the narrower individualistic aspects of religion. This can hardly be claimed of Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471), author of the famous book, *The Imitation of Christ.* In this mediæval devotional classic, the personal, self-regarding virtues are stressed at the expense of the social elements of the faith. A milder judgment must be passed upon the little but influential treatise, the *German Theology,* which made such a deep impression upon Martin Luther.

The mystical emphasis was also a large factor in the spread of a number of semi-monastic orders, the most prominent of which were the Brethren of the Common Life, the Friends of God, and the Waldenses. They were characterized by a deeply devotional spirit, dependence upon Scripture, a rich communal life, and an evangelical emphasis upon divine grace. Mysticism of a pronounced but practical nature caused these groups to place their hope of salvation upon the immediate contact of God in the life of man rather than upon the mediating efficacy of an institution or a sacrament. In this respect they were forerunners of the Reformation.[4]

B. CONTRIBUTIONS

Besides the great movements which have been mentioned mediævalism contributed to the common store of history and culture a number of ideas, ideals, works of art, and literary productions that have brought the world into its debt. These also constitute a measure of the glory of this much-abused and neglected period of church history. "What humanity gained in the way of progress during the Middle Ages is of enormous value. In addition to the heritage from antiquity, which is larger than is sometimes appreciated, the gifts of Christianity and the church, despite much in them that has been reactionary or suppressive, mark a very great advance upon antiquity, both socially and ethically."[5]

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[4] See Chapter VIII on "Renaissance and Reform," where the relationship is discussed.

[5] Thompson, J. W., *Reference Studies in Mediæval History,* p. 2. Reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

1. The Quest for Wonder. The pastoral life of the period, free from the industrialization and sophistication of the present age, lent itself to romance, wonder, and mystery. Evils and dangers were present, as we shall have occasion to note, but they were not mechanization of life or naturalism in thought. A block universe was not yet thought of, life had not yet been tied to a machine. Legends and fairyland tales, beliefs in wonders and miracles were a vital part of life. The critical spirit, the wonder of the modern age, had not spread like an intellectual glacier over the emotions of man.

Of the two foci of life, the critical and the appreciative, it was the latter attitude that was regulative of life. Indeed, the almost total absence of the former allowed the mediæval man to play with magic, devour superstitions, accept legends, and believe in forgeries, witches, and devils at which we now smile. This represented the dark side of the age of credulity. The numerous and fanciful lives of the saints and the trial by ordeal illustrate the extremes to which uncritical appreciation can go. The former were compilations of devotional biographical material sometimes created out of whole cloth by the author with the aid of "the prayers of the brethren," according to the testimony of one writer. The ordeal was based upon the assumption that God, or some supernatural agent, would assist in the detection of fraud and criminal action. Lacking the evidence which might be gained by patient investigation and by the weighing of testimony, a quicker route to the goal than our modern slow and cumbersome method of trial by jury suggested itself to the mediæval mind. Often accompanied with an elaborate ritual at which officials of the church presided, the accused were put through the ordeal upon the successful issue of which the judgment depended. For example, if the defendant carried a heated iron without serious consequences, or ate a sacred wafer without choking, or sank in the purified waters of some neighboring stream,[6] or won in a trial by combat, as the case might be, he was adjudged innocent. Only very slowly did the Christian conscience awake to the futility of such a procedure and the church begin to issue decrees against its use.

2. The Idea of Solidarity. In a way that has not been duplicated since, mediævalism stood for the ideal of one human family with God's vicar as its earthly head and father. That it was largely ideal rather than actual does not detract from the glorious vision that reigned in the hearts of men. Until western Europe became divided into a number of self-conscious and mutually exclusive units we meet a consciousness of oneness, a feeling of common tasks, common problems, and common goals that seemed to recognize that life was organized about a common principle. Many discordant notes were present, it is true, but they failed to dispel the ideal or illusion, if you will, of harmony. It was not harmony based upon democracy. The sharp division into classes with two at the top, the nobility and the clergy, and one at the bottom, the serfs, precluded that. The rise of the middle class with the development of trade and the founding of cities introduced the principle of democracy as privileges were curtailed and human rights extended. In the main the bond of unity was cultural and religious, not national or political; the latter expressions developed, however, later in the period.

3. The Law of God. Characteristic of mediæval society at its best was the belief in the primacy of the moral law. Similar to the noble Stoic conception of the law of nature above all human enactment, it deviated from it as to source, interpretation, and execution. In this instance the great law of God

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[6] The floating of the body of the accused individual implied that he was guilty. In casting off the culprit the purified stream was giving its verdict.

was found in the Scriptures, was interpreted by the church, and was executed by the supreme head of human society, the pope. That the emperor also was conceived of as the executor of God's laws, so far as the temporal economy was concerned, was frequently asserted. The significant thing was the recognition of the supremacy of moral law above the individual enactments of any ruler or group of potentates. The dogma that the state knows no moral law or that the state can violate with impunity the moral conscience of humanity was foreign to the mediæval mind.

4. The Mediæval Synthesis. The mediæval mind organized everything it touched. Forms and customs which we now take for granted were in many cases originated and given shape by that mind. Administrative and political powers, elements in the social structure, economic advance in the creation of the free merchant and the free craftsman, degrees, gowns, and methods in education, principles of behavior and etiquette, constitute some of the achievements. In religion and in the realm of doctrine, harmonization and organization were in evidence. The thinker of this period detested loose ends. Everything had to fit into one system, well balanced, comprehensive and complete. That violence was sometimes done during the process of forcing a synthesis does not detract from the marvelous unity and harmony that were actually attained. In the system of Aquinas, as already noted, nature and grace, faith and reason, reposed in peaceful relations side by side. It need scarcely be said that no conflict was present between science and theology because science, in the modern sense, was not born. When mediæval institutions began to decay and when the glory of the age began to fade because of the introduction of new principles the vast mediæval synthesis crumbled. It had served its day. New forces, ideals, and objectives displaced it.

5. The World of Art. Mediæval Catholicism was remarkably responsive to the æsthetic appeal. All spheres of life, including the world of beauty, felt the glowing warmth of the church's interest. This was especially true in the latter half of the period after the early iconoclasts had been disposed of and the later detractors of art had not yet been born. Religious sentiment not only looked with favor upon but directly inspired the noble creations of art and architecture. Popes vied with secular rulers in the encouragement of artistic productions as an aid to religious instruction. Thus Pope Gregory VII decreed, and later synods supported this attitude. Artistic manuscripts attest to the early interest, while the noble Gothic architecture of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, and the subsequent golden age of painting and sculpture, forever stand as the supreme human creations of religious art. Throughout the period the avenue to the Divine through the symbolic in marble, in the pointed Gothic, upon the stained glass, or on the painted canvas was ever open. The guilds of masons and builders, often inspired by the loftiest religious enthusiasm in the patient pursuance of their tasks, furnish one of the most glorious examples of work done "for the glory of religious faith."[7] In these various masterpieces the laymen of the Middle Ages have left us abiding monuments of their religious zeal and devotion to the world of spiritual beauty.

6. Literature. Not only chronicles, sermons, and theological treatises but literary productions of an artistic nature come from this period. Before the time of Dante, Latin was the vehicle of expression, and tales, legends, and folk lore and heroic songs of the people[8] almost the sole manifestations of creative

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[7] C. L. Brace, in *Gesta Christi*, 4th ed., p. 496, states, "These wonderful symmetrical structures of stone, rising like rounded pines to the skies, are the prayers of the mediæval laborer."

[8] Such as the Nibelungen Lied, "Tales of King Arthur," "The Holy Grail."

literary art. Minstrels and troubadours went about creating and singing songs, religious epics began to appear, miracle plays were produced, until in Dante (1265-1321), who in so many ways epitomized the age, the synthesis of doctrinal content and literary form found its supreme expression. Since his *Divine Comedy,* a masterpiece of all time, was the first great literary production written in Italian, it might be called the creator of the vernacular literature. Others followed in his steps to create out of their native tongues the literary languages that we know to-day. The achievements of men like Boccaccio, the father of Italian prose, and Chaucer, who wrote the Canterbury Tales in the language of the common people, herald the approach of a new day. With them the last glimmer of mediævalism begins to fade into the dawn of the modern world. Moreover, decay and deterioration had set in, grievous abuses in church, state, and society threatened to undermine and destroy the institutions themselves, while new ideals and new forces were beginning to deface and replace some of the ancient landmarks. A consideration of these darker features of mediævalism in its decadent stage is so closely linked up with the Reformation that it will be reserved for the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

RENAISSANCE AND REFORM

THE mediæval Catholic Church was built upon foundations that were too artificial and rigidly static to meet the changing demands of a new age. Other factors, both negative and positive, in all realms of life, entered in to make the post-mediæval and the Renaissance era one of disintegration and revolt.

A. NEGATIVE FACTORS

1. The Church. The papacy of this period became increasingly secularized. The pope frequently placed political above religious interests. As an Italian prince he indulged in all the deceptive arts and secret alliances of his rivals. Some of the occupants of the Holy See were reprobates and openly immoral.[1] A few of the nobler type were unable to stay the downward tendency, so thoroughly was the organization honeycombed with scandalous practices of long standing.

A number of factors played into the hands of the reformers, of which three stand out as pre-eminent. The transference of the papal court from Rome to Avignon, a little town near the borders of France, through the political pressure of the French king made the pope servile to France. This is called the Babylonian Captivity because the period (1309-1378) approximated in length that of the ancient Jewish period of captivity. Not only was the universal aspect of the papacy severely injured but the corruptions of this Avignon court shocked Christian Europe. The second factor was the Great Schism (1378-1417), inaugurated by the election of two popes, one by the Avignon, the other by the Roman faction of cardinals. A church that still believed in the fundamental doctrine of one organic institution culminating in one head felt the shame and the strain that was involved in the support of two papal courts.

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[1] Catholic historians frankly characterize popes like John XXIII, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI as crafty, unscrupulous, and immoral.

The third factor was the failure of the Conciliar Movement to institute all the necessary reforms. Three great church councils (Pisa, Constance, Basel)[2] during the first half of the fifteenth century, remedied some of the financial abuses and healed the schism but failed to effect complete reform. The fact that the Bohemian reformer, Huss, touched upon this root of the trouble which lay embedded in the doctrine of sin explains why he had no chance at Constance, where he was burned in 1415, after the emperor had broken his pledge of safe conduct. Thus the real failure of the Conciliar Movement promoted a radicalism which became increasingly sympathetic toward drastic proposals of reform. Despite energetic efforts by a number of worthy and noble exemplars of religious leadership, such as Nicholas V, to restore papal prestige, its force as a world power was rapidly dying.

Papal maladministration was reflected throughout the church. Records of the times frequently mention the excessive financial burdens imposed upon the people for the support of the extravagant papal and church machinery. By means of tithes, annates, Peter's pence, special levies, fees, and taxes, a vast amount was squeezed out of the poverty of Europe. Lawsuits which concerned religion or the church were usually brought before ecclesiastical courts, the major cases always before the Roman Curia. Miscarriage of justice, together with the impoverishment of the principals concerned, created an ugly temper. Immunity granted the clergy at the expense of the laity merely increased the tension. Simony and graft, the sale of pardons, dispensations, and offices may have filled the coffers of many prelates, but at the expense of a rising protest of the exploited class. Deterioration in the morals of the former reacted upon the latter, though it was less prevalent and less important as a cause of the Reformation than some Protestant historians have assumed.[3] But it was sufficiently widespread to serve as a convenient point of attack.

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[2] See Chapter XVII for additional information.

In doctrine as well as in practice the church was gradually losing the allegiance of some of the best spirits of the age. In fact, practice is usually an external manifestation of a certain way of thinking. Thus the doctrine of sacerdotalism made salvation dependent upon the acts of the church through the priesthood. Sacramentarianism implied that God's grace flowed for men's salvation only through those channels designated by the church as sacraments. In other words, a man could come to God only through and in the church. Sin was regarded as a relation of the individual to the church; the church was regarded as the saviour of the individual. Through the centuries the church had created a vast mechanism for the salvation of the sinner of which he must take advantage or else suffer the eternal torments of hell. This mechanism, bound up with the system of penance, was based upon the fact that man could do something to obtain salvation. Salvation by works proved to be a good working formula.

In this mental atmosphere gradually developed the doctrines the abuse of which proved so disastrous to the church, namely, indulgences, treasury of merits, and purgatory. In the sacrament of penance indulgence at first merely represented some form of acknowledgment of absolution granted by the priest. Later the practice arose of commuting this penance in money. According to the Catholic doctrine a sinner, contrite of heart, after making confession to the priest and being absolved, could pay a designated sum of money to vouch for the sincerity of his penance instead of performing some other equally difficult or distasteful service, such as praying all night or taking a long journey to a sacred shrine. This money, be it understood, was to be used for a sacred cause, for instance, the building of Saint Peter's Church or a holy crusade against the infidel Turk. At the close of the mediæval period the pope and other high prelates proclaimed indulgences whenever they were in need of cash. A man could buy pardon, so he felt, and could receive remission of the temporal penalties of sin for himself and his dear ones in purgatory. It was desirable that a man's sojourn in this place of purgation should be short, and that could be effected by the power of the pope. The latter had the mythical "treasury of merits" at his disposal. On the basis of the belief in works of supererogation it was taught that this treasury contained all the merits of Christ and the saints, a certain amount of which exceeded their own needs. This could be vicariously applied to the needs of others by the issuance of a draft on this spiritual bank signed by the pope.

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[3] Smith, Preserved, *The Age of the Reformation*, pp. 29ff.

This system worked. It worked too well. Money rolled into Rome; many felt the relief of eternal pardon; others, such as rulers, bankers, prelates, and pardoners, who participated in the systematic collection of the indulgence money, were enriched. But a widespread discontent made itself felt. Certain rulers began to see the evil economic effects as they contemplated a "foreign" power enriched at their expense; men of vision noted the demoralizing influence upon religion. Ulrich von Hutten, a humanist, voiced an aroused public conscience when he remarked that everything could be had at Rome for money, and nothing could be had there without money.

2. Political. Seeds of decay were to be found in other realms. In the political field is to be noted the far-reaching result of the gradual disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire. Synchronizing with the eclipse of papal world power came the shattering of the imperial claims to overlordship. No longer could the emperor as of yore command the implicit loyalty of the component parts of his own empire. Self-determination, to use a modern phrase, was too strongly intrenched in the petty principalities, and a measure of nationalism made itself felt within the bounds of the larger imperial fiefs. The wings of imperial prestige and power had been so sharply clipped that any movement which had the support of one or more of the imperial princes had some chance of success. For that reason, as we shall see, a Catholic emperor was unable to crush the Protestant "heresy."

3. Economic and Social. The great social order of the Middle Ages, feudalism, was likewise slowly crumbling after its heyday of glory when knighthood was in flower. A system which had allowed the domination of the lords temporal and spiritual could no longer guarantee such rule. The invention of gunpowder placed in the hands of the down-trodden serf a weapon which made him the equal of the once superior knight on horseback. In the economic realm the latter part of the period also saw depletion, distress, and despair due to almost incessant warfare, famines, crop failures, and the terrible scourge called the Black Death (1347-1351). The rise of the latter, a bubonic plague, easily understood to-day in view

of the awful, unsanitary conditions of mediæval life, was then looked upon as a direct visitation of an angry God. To appease his wrath, hysterical religion called forth the strange phenomenon known as the Flagellants, who journeyed from place to place amid mutual scourgings. An important result of the plagues was the fact that the ranks of the clergy were decimated, causing the influx of a lower and less educated group. Social and economic unrest created a soil in which the plant of revolt readily grew.

B. Positive Factors—Rise of New Forces

The chief significance of the process of disintegration, to which reference has been made, lies in the fact that it made possible the rise and development of new institutions. Or shall we say that the new forces were responsible for the eclipse of the older institutions? Upon the ruins of feudalism rose capitalism; upon the prostrate form of Scholasticism mounted the Renaissance spirit, giving birth to the critical mind; over the decaying spirit of papal universalism hovered the various nationalistic church expressions; alongside but not displacing the "one universal church" arose a number of virile, contending faiths; and, finally, with the demise of the imperial idea as typified in the empire, came its modern counterpart, the national state.

The positive factors with which we now deal are even more important than the negative. The rise of the new forces, of a new spirit, of new devices and mechanisms, was more potent in producing the Reformation than the deficiency and failures of old thought and systems. Notable among these new tendencies was the revival of learning or the Renaissance.

1. Renaissance. The term "Renaissance" is sometimes employed to cover the varied social, economic, cultural, political, and religious changes and expan-

sions of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, including the Reformation. Renaissance means simply rebirth, and it were better to limit it to the revival of classical learning with its manifold expressions in literature, art, and science. The usual division into early Italian or pagan Renaissance, on the one hand, and later northern or Christian Renaissance, on the other, is sufficiently accurate to be employed.

a. Italian Renaissance. The first break through the crust of mediævalism came in Italy, due to its strategic central location, its trade with the Orient, the activity of life in the city-states, and the pronounced individuality of the Italians. Mediævalism stood for self-repression, self-abnegation, divestment of selfhood, on the one hand, and for the primacy of the cause, the empire, the church, on the other. The mediæval man was regarded essentially as a type, a faint imitation, perhaps, of a saint or monk, but a type, a candidate for heaven, a cog in a great machine. The Renaissance man, on the contrary, was typically self-assertive, a candidate for fame, existing by right of his own personality, proud of his achievements and originality, a cog in no machine. If you had praised Saint Bernard for his unique individuality, his distinctive achievements, his originality, he would have felt insulted. That was just what Petrarch was after with all the ardor of a consuming passion for personal fame.

The basis for this new revival was a rediscovery of the classical heritage, due partly to the effects of the Crusades, the contact with the Greek East, and the study of Roman law in the twelfth century. This was checked, however, in the thirteenth century by Scholasticism. About the middle of the fourteenth century a new evaluation was being placed upon the content as well as upon the form of the ancient classics, bringing with it the thrill of a new discovery.

Formerly, the ancient literature had been studied for its excellent form; now men like Petrarch (1304-1374) and his follower, Boccaccio, discovered a larger, freer, more joyous view of life within the musty pages. Again, creative Greece with its culture, love of nature and of life, and its affirmation of the world, conquered the minds of men. Because of his surrender to this ideal of self-culture Petrarch may be called the first outstanding humanist,[4] as he has been called the first modern man. This Florentine scholar had a perfect mania for the collection of old manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins, and an equal distaste for scholastic books.

In these ancient classics Petrarch found that a man had a right to his own opinion, that this life had a value of its own. Needless to say, he made the most of both. Greek he did not know, though Latin, the universal language, he wrote with exquisite beauty. With Boccaccio he may be termed the creator of modern Italian, the so-called vulgar tongue. This is his chief claim to fame. The dominance of Latin was still so powerful, however, that he felt ashamed that such a great genius as he should indulge in such a commonplace vehicle of expression.

Humanism was not lacking in promoters. From popes down to ordinary scholars and publishers it gained a devoted following. Nicholas V, the most prominent humanist pope, felt that humanism was better inside than outside the church and was prepared to appoint the keen critic, Lorenzo Valla, pagan that he was, as an official of the Curia. The latter's critical and skeptical approach to all problems, a modern trait, led him to prove the spurious nature of the Donation of Constantine.[5] Chrysoloras, with other scholars, was instrumental in the promotion of Greek study in the West. When Constantinople fell in 1453 a still greater impetus was given to the movement. The origins of textual criticism, archæology, modern libraries, and academies of letters and science are found in this period. Learning of the new type spread rapidly by means of books, scholars, and private groups, notable among which was the academy. Rome and Florence possessed the most famous of these, the latter having as its patron in the latter part of the fifteenth century the illustrious Lorenzo de' Medici.

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[4] From the Latin *humanitas,* meaning culture.

[5] See Chapter XVII.

Between Petrarch and Leo X, the last real humanist pope, a period of more than a century and a half, Italian Humanism rose, flourished, and decayed. It degenerated into a cultural fad, and became a substitute for religion. Homer became the "unknown God" and Cicero the patron saint. With this there came a corresponding decline in morals which the church, through the papacy of the time, was unable to stay. Machiavelli, with his outrageous, unethical political principles, was merely an echo of the times.

One redeeming feature amid the sordidness and libertinism of later humanism was the glorious outburst of creative genius in the realm of art. Saint Peter's Cathedral and the picture "The Last Judgment" will always keep among the immortals the name of the poet, painter, sculptor, and architect, Michael Angelo. An equally many-sided genius, da Vinci, gave us "The Last Supper." And Raphael cannot be mentioned without thinking of his masterpiece "The Sistine Madonna." The church as patron of art was a welcome relief to the church as stultifier of art, but her historic mistrust of certain forms of the æsthetic seemed justified on the basis of the sensuous suggestiveness sometimes hidden behind the forms of painting or plastic art. When the sinfulness of the flesh and the evils of the present life were paramount, it seemed sheer folly to condone that which proclaimed the beauty of the flesh. The reversal of this attitude on the part of the church gave to the world masterpieces of art which will always be accounted among the finest creations of the human spirit.

With all its extravagances and lawless defiance of the conventions, this early expression of the Renaissance spirit must be considered a step in advance. Some of the old that was good necessarily suffered, but much that was profitable to life and true to fact was reclaimed for the world.[6]

b. The Northern Renaissance. When Rome was sacked by imperial troops in 1527, many scholars fled to the north. About this time the Catholic Church began to associate the Renaissance with the outbreak of the religious revolt, damning them both as schismatic and heretical. This partly explains why the early humanists in the north exhibited such a friendly interest in the Protestant revolt against Rome. Aside from this, a more serious tone pervaded this so-called Christian Renaissance than was the case with the southern movement. Not only the classics but Scripture, not only culture but religion, engaged their attention and study.

Five years before Luther rediscovered the doctrine of justification by faith, a French humanist, Lefèvre, wrote of its inestimable value to salvation. He as well as Colet in England was interested primarily in discovering the real message of the New Testament, which had been obscured beneath a mass of commentaries. A fellow humanist in Germany, Reuchlin (1455-1522), did the same for the Old Testament, publishing also a Hebrew grammar which remained a standard for a considerable time. Melanchthon, a grand-nephew of Reuchlin and personal friend of Luther, continued the good work, chiefly as a popularizer. But the most important and truly international figure in the group was the illegitimate son of Dutch parents, Desiderius Erasmus[7] (1466-1536). After some distasteful experience of monastic life he continued his education in Paris, England, Flanders, and Italy and then settled down to his life-work of writing, teaching, and advocating moderate and progressive reform in the church.

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[6] Sir Richard C. Jebb in *Cambridge Modern History,* vol. i., chap. xvi, enumerates the following merits of the Italian Renaissance. It restored good standards of style; it gave material for erudition; it founded a literary education of a liberal type; it brought antiquity to its own; it diffused a new spirit, and was the foe of obscurantism.

The work of Erasmus was so significant, so closely related to the Reformation,[8] and so epoch-making in general that it deserves to be considered somewhat at length. He issued book after book against the crying evils in church and state, also some of a constructive nature which presented his philosophy of life. In fact, he was the first modern man to make his living out of books. On matters purely theological he wrote twice only, once on the freedom of the will against Luther's determinism, and later upholding transubstantiation against the Swiss. In one of his earliest productions, *The Manual of the Christian Knight,* his conception of a rational, spiritual religion as opposed to mere formalism and conventionalism, comes to the front. The most popular and influential of his works came out in 1509, *The Praise of Folly,* where his kindly wit and keen, biting thrusts at the foibles and superstitions of monks and scholastics appear to good advantage. In a more constructive vein over a period of years he wrote the *Colloquies,* embodying in allegory and story form the author's ideas of the absurditites and follies of contemporary religion. With marvelous skill he uncovers the shame and paganism of much of the religious practice of his day.

In the field of biblical criticism he made in 1516 the first really scientific text of the New Testament. This was published in undue haste, before he was completely satisfied, in order to anticipate a similar work being prepared by Cardinal Ximenes in Spain. *The Christian Prince* reflected his warm interest in and remarkable understanding of political principles. As an attempt to apply the ethics of Jesus to that field, it ranks high above Machiavelli's contemporary *The Prince,* which, unfortunately, seems to have been the model for much of the later European diplomacy. This nervous invalid, who was so sane, such a friend of humanity, so wise in his counsels, ended his days in Basle, alone and unbefriended, feared and hated.

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[7] Charles Reade's novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth* gives the religious atmosphere out of which Erasmus came.

[8] It has frequently been said that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched. Erasmus is reported to have remarked, "But I expected a different sort of a bird."

The relation of the prince of humanists to the Protestant revolt is hard to appraise. That he exposed with merciless ridicule the gigantic abuses of the church he loved, makes him a powerful factor in the reform movement despite his hostility to Luther. That hostility can easily be explained on the basis of his ideal of reform. It was a reform to be brought about through the intelligent application of reason, and the union of all serious-minded Christian leaders in a systematic effort in counseling the pope and calling a General Council. Utterly opposed to schism and open revolt, guided by the dictates of a judicial temper, seeing both sides to the dispute, he felt that it was not his business to take sides. If given time, the regenerating forces within the church would bring reform; in the meantime an intellectual arbiter could be of inestimable value, and such he was. Having had no deep revolutionary experience of the Luther type, he lacked the latter's profound mystical apprehension of spiritual realities, but he had a more intelligent grasp of some of the problems involved in the church's crisis and was far broader in his social and humanitarian vision. To his eternal credit it may be said that he was a consistent, passionate hater of war in all its forms. The reformation of the future may be Erasmian as that of the past was Lutheran, provided that it does not repudiate the vital, the personal, and the experiential so characteristic of the latter.

The spread of the cultural ferment was rapid because the invention of printing about the middle of the fifteenth century with the movable type permitted the publication of many books at a reasonable price. At a time when people were more curiously alert and when the stimulus of new ideas was most pronounced, this discovery, known long before in China, helped to revolutionize and broaden the mental horizon of the West. The printing press increased the range of the humanist's influence a thousandfold especially among the masses, who now for the first time had a real opportunity to get information at first hand. Reactionary church leaders feared for their authority. It is always dangerous for things as they are when the common people think. "We must root out printing or printing will root us out," exclaimed a priest who saw the true trend of affairs. When the Bible, for instance, was not only translated into the language of the people, but was printed in comparatively cheap editions for them to read and study, the peculiar sanctity attaching to the priestly monopoly of Scripture was bound to go. This translation into the vernacular, begun in the fourteenth century, gave the New Testament in particular a greater authority and permitted laymen to judge the church of their day in the light of the Apostolic Age.

The Renaissance was a preparation for the Reformation. But it was more than that. It not only freed the human mind from the domination of Scholasticism but gave the mind an honorable place in the scheme of things. An attempt was made at least to see life whole, if not steadily. Man was valued as man; his earthly life, with all its temporal forms, expressions, and aspirations, was prized independently of its celestial destiny. Nature with all its glorious beauty and overpowering majesty captured the imagination of men, compelling them again, as in ancient Greece, to explore its mysteries and seek its secrets, if haply they might find them. The spring of a new life with the lure of opening skies again appeared on earth after a winter of a drab and dull existence.

The mediæval man would stumble over the ruin of some ancient monument and curse it for obstructing his passage; the modern man, curious and eager, stops to investigate, looking perchance with awe in his eyes and a thrill in his heart at that which was once the glory of a magnificent civilization. Unfortunately, as we have seen, the coming of the new season brought storms and upheavals; the new freedom at times degenerated into license and showed contempt for the old which was of priceless religious value. Too often man became the measure of all things: moralism, the measure of religion, humanitarianism, the measure of God.

2. Nationalism. Another phenomenon indicative of change and opposed to the universalism of both papacy and empire was nationalism. France, Spain, and England first came to national self-consciousness during the latter part of the Middle Ages, giving birth to national assemblies and fostering the growth of incipient national churches. Strong rulers usually looked with favor upon a tendency and a spirit so useful to them in their struggle against the encroaching authority of Rome. Consequently, the Gallican movement in France, culminating in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), which radically limited papal jurisdiction in the land; the pronounced antipapal propaganda of the great English patriot Wiclif, together with a number of supporting statutes promulgated by Parliament; the gradual emerg-

ence of a national consciousness in Germany, with an increase in the number of protests against foreign clerical domination (termed "hound of hell"); the revival in Spain with its strictly nationalistic features—all these spoke of a slowly gathering stormcloud of revolt ready to burst forth at the first propitious moment.

3. The Rise of the Middle Class. In the economic realm a quiet revolution was going on in the expansion of trade, in the displacement of barter by money and the gradual absorption of guilds by larger commercial groups, in the rapid growth of cities as independent units, in the change of status of many of the serfs to free wage earners, and finally in the rise of a strong moneyed middle class which obtained a place in the sun as the Third Estate. Significant to note, it was this class which became the backbone of the Protestant revolt, leading to the statement that the Reformation was a "revolution of the rich against the poor."[9] Changing economic conditions made for greater stability of life and for the extension of the spirit of independence and democracy. No longer could it be said that the clergy of the first class did the praying, the nobility as the second class the preying; the serfs the paying. They who, through industry, foresight, and aggressiveness, through business ventures, industrial control, and banking establishments, were now capable of paying, joined forces in the successful pursuit of power. Business, self-conscious and self-contained, came to life as a potent world force, setting up with nationalism, as it were, a new religion, which, though instrumental at the time in thwarting the despotic autocracy of the papacy, has introduced a new autocracy hardly less inimical to the highest spiritual interests of man than the older form.

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[9] A fuller explanation of this remark will be given in the next chapter.

4. World Expansion. Expansion in the inner world of man's life was followed by an external world expansion, made possible in part by the invention of clocks and the compass. The urge that drove men to risk the dangers of the unknown seas was largely due to the blocking of the old Oriental trade routes by the Turks, forcing the maritime powers of Europe to seek new ones. An increasing demand for the products of the East Indies, especially spices, was, in fact, the chief motive for the exploring expedition of Columbus to America (1492) and that of da Gama to India (1498). Early in the next century the expedition of Magellan circumnavigated the world. The discovery and the opening up of vast new worlds set the imagination of men on fire and suggested possibilities for the future that were without limit.

To all these new avenues into new realms of thought and activity, must be added persistent, though frequently unsuccessful, attempts to regenerate decadent life and to reform exploiting institutions. We may call them pre-Reformers.

C. PRE-REFORMERS

In the first place, we note the persistence of dissent, often crushed or driven underground, sometimes checked or restricted, but nevertheless vocal and acting as a ferment. Certain radical groups, like the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, the Petrobrusians, and the Albigenses, despite their mixture of paganism with Christianity and their revival of Manichæan heresies, advocated sincerity and simplicity in the spiritual life.

1. Mystics. Of far greater importance were the evangelical mystics and the semimonastic mystic sects. That the church did not entirely surrender to formalism was due to spiritual preachers and

thinkers of the type of Meister Eckhart (1260-1327) and Tauler (d. 1361), and to books like the anonymous *The German Theology* and à Kempis' famous *Imitation of Christ.* The defects in this whole mystical movement revolved about its excessively individualistic, monastic, and unsocial aspects, its disparagement of reason, and its proneness to pantheism. But in mystics like Tauler, Gerard Groote, and the remarkable Catherine of Siena, we find a practical, social expression that rings true. Some of them anticipated Luther in their insistence upon personal faith as central in salvation, but were so thoroughly wedded to the Catholic system, despite their protests at its mechanizing influence, and so enamoured of the purely individual aspect of the gospel message, that they failed to unite with other broader intellectual and social forces which were making for a larger life. In other words, mysticism and humanism never shook hands.

2. Reforming Sects. Similar criticisms may be leveled against the fraternal organizations which sprang up to meet a deep spiritual hunger for a more personal religion. The Friends of God in Germany, of which Tauler was a member, and the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands, founded by Groote, stressed the communal life, devotional study of Scripture, simplicity, and poverty. Missionary zeal multiplied these religious enthusiasts and their peculiar type of gospel far and wide. Of a more critical type and more emphatically aggressive were the old Waldensians, coming out of the twelfth century (Peter Waldo, 1170). Their purity and ascetic type of life, passionate preaching, opening up of Scripture, and prophetic denunciation of current evil practices in the church made them as popular among the common people as they were obnoxious to church authorities. Drastic measures of suppression, holy crusades, and the Inquisition all failed to stop the

propaganda.[10] Before the Reformation a remnant was still active in the mountains of northern Italy, advocating doctrines similar to those later espoused by Protestants. Their type of piety, however, was still distinctly mediæval.

3. Wiclif. Practical reform, not always associated with mysticism, revolved about certain outstanding individuals, of whom Wiclif and Huss were the most prominent. John Wiclif[11] (1324-1384), the "morning star of the Reformation," professor, preacher, patriot, came upon the scene just before Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Langland's *Piers Plowman* revealed in inimitable sketches the sorry plight of the church. Wiclif could measure up with the best in the use of fierce invective and biting sarcasm when exposing ecclesiastical scandals and papal corruptions, but more was needed than a picture of corruption, worldliness, and vice. Calling the pope "anti-Christ," opposing his taxation of England, attacking and ridiculing transubstantiation, rejecting the doctrines of purgatory and the system of indulgences and clerical celibacy were sufficient to make their exponent famous but insufficient for the needs of the hour. His constructive work centered about a twofold task—the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular (1382) and the establishment of an order of itinerant lay preachers to expound them to the people. Giving the people the Bible, he claimed, was a holier task than consecrating Christ's body in the mass. Besides, the law of God as revealed in the Scriptures was the norm and criterion of all life in church or state. Only those belonged to the church who lived according to this law, who were known of God (elect) to belong. This purely individualistic

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[10] In 1655 thousands were massacred. Cromwell raised his mighty hand to protect them and Milton wrote some inspired verses to the memory of the martyrs.

[11] The simplest spelling of a name that is written variously, Wyclif, Wicklif, Wycliffe, Wiklif, Wiclif.

concept of the church almost ruled the church as a social entity out of existence. He claimed that "the visible church could neither guarantee the salvation of the soul nor cut off the obedient soul from God."[12] After Wiclif's death in bed (unusual for a heretic, but made possible in his case because of powerful support at home), his work was carried on in a haphazard manner by his followers, called the Lollards, who persisted despite severe persecutions up to the time of the English Reformation.

4. Huss. The chief expression of the Wiclifite propaganda, curiously enough, came to a head in distant Bohemia. John Huss[13] (1370-1415), the leader in this movement, was an ardent follower of the English radical, though less extreme in thought and more charitable in disposition. At one time rector of the University of Prague (1402), then noted preacher and theologian, he soon became the storm center, not only of doctrinal disputes but also of national aspirations. The German element clashed with the native Czech in the university which caused the withdrawal of the former and the elevation of Huss to the rectorship of the university, now completely Czech. Throughout Bohemia there was an uproar. Reactionary forces struck back at the reforming group and succeeded, by means of the Council of Constance, in silencing the great leader. His death at the stake, after the imperial promise of safe conduct had been violated, was a dark blot on the Council's calendar of achievements, as it was a bright spot on the character of him who died with a prayer for the pardon of his enemies.

Out of the struggle came the terrible Hussite wars in which native parties sometimes fought each other as well as the foreign invader. One of these parties, the Utraquists,[14] finally triumphed and won for the Hussite movement some recognition by the church. From a mixture of these groups came ultimately the "Unitas Fratrum," or the Brethren.

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[12] *De Civili Dominio,* vol. i., chap. xliii.

[13] In Czecho-Slovakia Huss is held in high regard as a national hero.

5. Savonarola. A third pre-reformer was Savonarola (1452-1498), the fiery prophet of Florence. More mystical but less intellectually balanced than either Wiclif or Huss, he rose to more immediate heights of power. This was due in part to the Dominican monk's uncanny accuracy in foretelling events. When calamity came, the saddened people remembered. Their hero was given the "keys to the city" and practically ruled it for years. Like Calvin, he transformed a city wedded to a life of pleasure, art, and culture, into one of the strictest puritan type. Unfortunately, many objects of art were lost in the public burning of "carnal things." Having attacked evils and evildoers where he found them, sparing none, he finally launched bitter philippics against the disreputable pope, Alexander VI. The latter, with the help of the fickle Florentines, who tired of their favorite, and of friends of the powerful de' Medici family, whom Savonarola had displaced, had the erratic prophet arrested, tortured, and condemned to death. With him perished his reform. His life, a life of serious devotion to righteousness, and not his ideas, thoroughly mediæval, has given him an honored place among reformers.

All these men, in fact, were mediæval in outlook insofar as they failed to entertain the great Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, with its vast transformation of the sacramental system. A number, however, of whom Gansfort (d. 1489) is the most notable, declared unequivocally for the primacy of faith. Luther declared that had he read Gansfort sooner, people would have denounced him for borrowing all his doctrines from the latter. Just before the Reformation there was noticeable a quickening of the religious life in Spain and Germany, and in other lands a deeper longing on the part of the people for more satisfying spiritual food than the church offered. They were waiting for the prophet and knew it not. In the fullness of a manifold preparation Luther came, gathering the scattered protests into one terrific onslaught and giving utterance in words that were alive to the vague, uncertain aspiration of countless fellow men.

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[14] So named because they believed in communion in both bread and wine.

CHAPTER IX

THE REFORMATION

THE question whether Europe was to be saved by a pervasive cultural Renaissance or by an intensive religious Reformation was still unsettled at the turn of the century. That the sixteenth century's answer was religious reform, and not humanistic uplift, was due in large measure to one man, Martin Luther. That he was so marvelously successful or destructive, according to one's point of view, was due not merely to his own titanic powers but also to a peculiarly timely convergence of forces which bore him resistlessly along as he sought to control them and direct them toward a dimly visioned goal. Environment plus personality, in action and reaction, produced the Protestant revolt.

A. BACKGROUND

The Holy Roman Empire, of which Saxony was a part, was the land of Luther's birth. It was at the time a loose federation of innumerable principalities under an emperor, elected by seven electors, and a Diet which was supposed to advise and legislate. What might have been an absolute power was not only checked by this assembly but by the more or less sovereign power of the princes. Although this arrangement made Germany a mere "geographical expression,"[1] it did not prevent the growth of a spirit of nationalism. This spirit, the almost sovereign rights of the princes, and the limitation of imperial authority, all had a direct bearing upon the Reformation. Thus when Charles V, the emperor-elect of 1519, tried to suppress Luther, he failed because the latter was a man of a people who felt themselves to be one, and who, through their princes, knew how to protect him.

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[1] A phrase employed by Metternich in describing the Italy of his day.

To political confusion was added economic unrest. The peasantry in Germany seem to have been exploited more shamelessly than in some other countries. Their moderate demands for rights and just treatment usually went unheeded; their tasks were oppressive and monotonous; their future was dark and gloomy. Repeated famines and a constant dread of Turkish invasion filled their cup of misery to the brim. Agitators found it easy to incite them to rebellions, a number of which occurred during the early life of Luther. The sequel was always savage suppression amid terrible carnage, and—more oppression. The burdens were increased by excessive church levies under which the people groaned. Any appeal for the lessening of these taxes found their hearts responsive, as Luther discovered.

Intellectual ferment, caused by the rapid spread of humanism, the founding of new universities, and the patronage of Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519), added more fuel to the fire. Early German humanists flocked to the standards of him who promised to lead them to a land of mental freedom away from the thraldom of papal autocracy. Thus Ulrich von Hutten, though pagan and immoral, acclaimed Luther as a liberator of Germany. The whole campaign of these humanists against ignorance, traditionalism, and exploitation, their demands for a purified church, and their insistence upon saner methods of historical research and Bible study, accrued to the advantage of reform.

As we note the popular religious life of the times, several facts stand out clearly. An increased interest in personal religion, still too legalistic and too closely allied to the fear motive, but serious and genuine, was making itself felt. Some of this interest found expression in superstition and bigotry, in asceticism, sacred relics, and pilgrimages; some of it was nobler in its outreach, less institutional and more mystical. It bespoke a yearning for spiritual satisfaction and a craving for something which the church seemingly failed to furnish. As a boy Luther was held in chains of fear. When he saw the crucifix he trembled, for to him Christ was above all the stern judge. This intensity of religious devotion in his home atmosphere and in countless other homes proved to be choice soil for the germination of the seed of the Spirit. Germany was ready.

B. LUTHER

Born in Eisleben, Saxony, in 1483, young Martin received a better education than most children of peasant or miner parentage. Studying for the profession of law at the University of Erfurt, regarded as a brilliant student and a hale and hearty comrade, he suddenly changed his life vocation and became instead an Augustinian monk. His deeply religious and somewhat introspective nature was profoundly stirred by an experience in a terrific thunder storm. Despite his stern father's chagrin and warnings, Luther remained obdurate. To seek inward peace in a monastery by fasting, vigils, contemplation, and self-mortification, was perfectly proper for a mediæval youth, and the method usually adopted for obtaining release. Although his extreme asceticism and severe austerities gained him the reputation of a saint and undermined his health, he discovered that "works" could not save him. From Augustine, the mystics, and especially from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he discovered that faith in the free grace of a merciful God, and not human merit or works, justified the believer. Staupitz, his superior and father-confessor, substantiated this truth in his heart. This profound experience shook him to the depths of his soul. His pitiful questioning, "How can I find a gracious God?" received an answer which filled his life with inner peace and assurance. This experience, repeating itself in the lives of others, made Protestantism.

In his capacity as monk, professor in the newly established university in Wittenberg, preacher and writer, Luther still regarded himself as a stanch Catholic. The trip to Rome in 1510 opened his eyes to the presence of iniquities in the "Holy City," but he returned a firm believer in the pope and the church. In 1517, however, a Dominican monk, Tetzel, brought him out into the open by offering a sale of indulgences near Wittenberg in a flippant and brazen manner. Common people were led to believe that the purchase of an indulgence certificate issued by the pope would wipe away the guilt of sin and bring immediate release to the souls of their relatives in purgatory.[2] When some of his parishioners came with indulgence certificates and asked for absolution Luther denounced the abuses of the system and posted ninety-five theses upon the door of his church. No one was more surprised than he at the storm that broke out everywhere. His presentation of the case was not new, but so clear-cut and so passionate that thousands were ready to follow him in the cause. The pope soon realized that something had been started that was more than a mere "squabble of monks," as he first termed it; he discovered that the sale of indulgences fell rapidly.

The audacious monk's refusal to go to Rome at the pope's behest was his salvation. For this he had to thank the powerful protection of his ruler, Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, who would not permit his popular professor to encounter serious danger. Others entered the doctrinal fray. Theses and counter-theses, recrimination and debate, followed in rapid succession. The debate at Leipzig in 1519 with Doctor Eck led Luther to state his agreement with John Huss, forced him to admit that pope and General Council might err, and that the Bible alone could be relied upon.

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[2] A Catholic historian, Jannsen, in his *History of the German People,* vol. iii, p. 92, admits: "Grievous abuses there certainly were in the proceedings and the behavior of the indulgence preachers, and the manner of offering and extolling the indulgence caused all sorts of scandal."

1. Break with Rome. Then came the break with Rome, and the papal bull of excommunication, which, as the Irish were wont to say, turned out to be a calf. Luther burned it. That had been done before. What made his public bonfire the most significant of the century was the fact that into it he also cast the canon law of his church. That meant total repudiation of the sacramental system of salvation which had gradually been worked out by the Catholic Church. A remarkable series of treatises,[3] all written during the year 1520, elaborated this position with a further extension in constructive proposals. One of these, *On the Liberty of a Christian Man,* is a devotional classic; the two others[4] set forth his rejection of papal leadership, the binding nature of the monastic vow, pilgrimages, works of merit, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. The number of sacraments was reduced to two, baptism and the eucharist, with a qualified acceptance of penance. The nature of the sacrament was interpreted in the Augustinian sense as an outward sign of an inward grace as opposed to the mechanical distribution of grace. An intensive program of reform was outlined dealing with the social, religious, and even political problems of the land, such as the abolition of clerical

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[3] To be found in Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works.*

[4] *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church,* and *Address to the Christian Nobility of Germany.*

celibacy, mendicancy, beggary; the reduction of ecclesiastical taxes; the substitution of a "Primate of Germany" for the pope, and the right of the civil power to reform the spiritual. Written in a pungent and incisive style of which the author was a master, these trumpet calls resounded through Germany, were echoed in other lands, and shook the papacy. The disturber of the peace was haled before the Diet of Worms which met in 1521.

The youthful Emperor Charles V, the strongest monarch of his time, came to Germany to hold his first imperial diet and settle the dangerous heresy. Thither Luther went boldly, declaring that, "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roof, I will go there," not knowing but that the fate of Huss awaited him. The imperial will, aiming at his destruction, was thwarted by a group of princes who favored the intrepid reformer. Appearing twice before the august assembly, Luther refused to recant any of his doctrines unless the contrary could be found in the Scriptures, as interpreted, not by the pope, but by the sanctified common sense of the true believer. Here we have the right of private judgment and the right of conscientious objection, so vividly expressed in Luther's trenchant phrase, "my conscience is caught in the word of God." Remaining true to his innermost convictions, to his famous reported statement, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; so help me God," he was placed under the ban of the empire but allowed to depart unmolested. Legally he was an outlaw, his life forfeit, his books to be burned. But friends came to his rescue and by a subterfuge he was secreted in a castle of the Elector of Saxony. While in seclusion at the Wartburg he began his famous translation of the Bible, which was a notable achievement from any point of view, not the least of which was the part it played in the creation of the High German language.

Luther's absence from Wittenberg allowed radical forces to gain control under the leadership of his colleague, the erratic Carlstadt. Only Luther's timely arrival in opposition to the express wish of the elector, who feared for his safety, stilled the raging forces. His task was much more difficult and less successfully met in the great Peasants' War of 1524-25. The oppressed peasants rose this time against their heartless masters because the banner of revolt, as they thought, had been raised by the Lutheran outbreak against all tyranny. Spurred on by the preaching of radicals like the humanist Hutten and the Anabaptist Münzer, they broke forth at a time when the regular troops were engaged in foreign campaigns. On the return of these, the revolt was suppressed in brutal fashion by the princes who were urged on by Luther in an equally brutal pamphlet. The latter feared that his religious movement would be wrecked if tied up with social revolt. He felt that the only constituted lawful authority resided with the princes.[5] Whatever the extenuating circumstances might have been, the actual result was the defection from their former idol of large numbers of peasants. About the same time he lost the sympathy of the humanists because of his dogmatism and narrowing conservatism. With the most thoroughgoing reformers of the day, the Anabaptists, he was always at swords point. And then, when his popularity was at low ebb, he signalized his repudiation of the monastic vow, by marrying an ex-nun, Catherine of Bora. The Catholics pointed derisive fingers at a movement which apparently was headed for the rocks.

2. Building the Church. At this stage Luther showed qualities of wise leadership in consolidating his scattered forces, promoting education, establishing a more thorough discipline, perfecting the liturgy,

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[5] Of more than ordinary significance was the sympathy for the peasants expressed by the Elector Frederick before he died.

utilizing the German in public worship, promoting congregational singing and publishing the catechisms for the indoctrination of the common people. New recruits from the middle and governing classes, including a large number of free cities, gave the movement the strength it needed to "protest" successfully. Because of that protest at the Diet of Spires in 1529 the name "Protestant" came into being. A more solid doctrinal foundation was laid the following year in the presentation of the famous Augsburg Confession, embodying Luther's thoughts but written by the more conciliatory Melanchthon, his intimate friend and "alter ego." The spirit of conciliation found utterance on nearly every page in numerous compromises and in the omission of objectionable features. It came too late. Compromise was not possible. Both sides prepared for war. Open hostilities, however, were temporarily postponed, as on other occasions, by the renewed activities of hostile France and of the threatening Turks.

Protestantism early showed tendencies toward division. Philip of Hesse, a prominent Lutheran prince, sought to remedy this defect by effecting a union of the evangelical groups. His overtures at Marburg in 1529 failed when Luther refused Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, the right hand of fellowship because of differing views on the Lord's Supper. Here Philip was right. On another occasion he threatened to undermine the cause. In 1540 he contracted a bigamous marriage, with Luther's reluctant approval. The scandal shocked Protestants and Catholics alike, giving the latter a real cause for mockery. That Luther found Old Testament precedents for polygamy and but little scriptural support for divorce places him in a more extenuating light, though it may not condone his act.

After a long life of strenuous activity, turmoil, conflict, and agitation, the impetuous reformer passed away in the town of his birthplace. Four months later hostilities began. The Schmalkaldic war, receiving its name from the Protestant League which was organized in 1531 to meet Catholic aggression, resulted in the victory of the Catholic emperor (1547). The fruits of this easy triumph were lost, however, when the defection of his ally, Maurice of Saxony, brought about his defeat in 1552. The Peace of Augsburg which followed (1555) marked the end of the first epoch of religious strife. It established the principle[6] that the religion of each principality was to be that of its ruler, the dissentients being given permission to emigrate. It likewise established territorial toleration. Two flaws in the treaty, however, contained seeds of future conflict. One related to "ecclesiastical reservations" which concerned the method of disposition of those church lands which had been secularized by Lutherans; the other was the denial to Calvinism of legal recognition.

C. PROTESTANTISM HALTED

With the establishment of outward peace internal dissensions grew apace. Numerous doctrinal controversies, too insignificant to mention, rocked the Lutheran church. The mild spirit of Melanchthon was unable to cope with the situation; he was, as a matter of fact, the storm center of much controversial literature. The artificial solution in the Formula of Concord (1580), a theological treaty of peace which was supposed to contain the essence of truth on all disputed points, led to Protestant Scholasticism. As in its mediæval prototype, dogma became supreme, the Bible an arsenal from which to draw proof-texts, and Christianity a religion of adherence to orthodoxy. Practical and ethical considerations, so prominent in the teaching of Jesus, were supplanted by abstruse, finely spun theological distinctions. The life of the spirit shrank in this atmosphere of legalistic, arid doctrinalism.

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[6] This principle was expressed in the phrase *cujus regio, ejus religio.*

To make matters worse, Protestantism began to shrink territorially. Within a generation after Luther's death no more European conquests were made. In some instances actual retrenchment and retreat followed the paper victories.

The defects in Protestantism itself explain much of this relapse. The persistent and pernicious spirit of sectarianism divided forces that should have been united. The missionary spirit was smothered under an avalanche of doctrinal disputations. Negation and protest assumed too much importance to the neglect of positive constructive efforts. Excessive mediævalism in doctrine was retained. The sanctification of the secular life sometimes led to a merely secular development of civilization, a decline into "expediency and utility" as Eucken, the philosopher, has phrased it. Undue dependence upon the support of princes made the church an adjunct of the state. In addition, defects may be noted in the immature development of the movement. In its infancy it checked the growth of the humanistic spirit, narrowed the realm of religious activity, and evinced a dubious attitude toward the world of the æsthetic. It perpetuated much of the dualistic view of life. There remained too much of acquiescence and passive endurance of an irrational and evil world. Luther himself is not entirely blameless. He struggled against one kind of external authority only to introduce one of another type; he combated scholastic intellectualism to find himself paying homage to intellectualistic doctrinalism.

Why then was not the Reformation crushed by the combination of papal and imperial power? Absurd as it may sound, the Reformation was saved, historically speaking, by the pope, Catholic France, the

Turk, and the Mediterranean pirates. Whenever Charles V was about to make good his threat against the Protestants one or the other of these menaced him. It was not to the interest of the pope to have Charles become too strong. This explains the otherwise unexplainable hostility of the former to the latter, even though that hostility meant peace for and consequent expansion of Protestantism. It was not until the time of Luther's death that Charles finally found himself free to attack his religious foes, with what results we have already seen. Even then Protestantism might have collapsed had it possessed little besides the defects listed above. A glance at the creative potency of Luther and his work will reveal the real reason why the apparently disruptive movement successfully withstood assaults from without and from within.

D. Luther's Contribution

The three great pillars which Luther erected to support the partially destroyed structure of the organized church were: (1) the supremacy of the Bible, (2) the supremacy of faith, (3) the supremacy of the people. The first has been called the objective, the second the subjective, the third the social principle of the Reformation.

1. The Bible was made the supreme authority in matters of faith and conduct. In his conflict with an autocratic papacy and an overtowering church institution Luther was driven to find his anchorage and defense in the sacred writings as interpreted not by pope or council but by the enlightened heart and mind of the individual Christian. Though not wholly proscribed, the Bible had become a hidden book, hidden in a mass of glosses and traditions. Luther experienced the thrill of its discovery, followed later by his escape from the "swaddling clothes of the allegorizing method." As late as 1513 he found as

many as six senses in some of the Psalms. But soon after he was seeking, to use his own words, "the single, right, chief, meaning which the letters give." This brought him to value the historical sense, though still somewhat under the bondage of the spiritualizing process.

Moreover, the Scriptures became to him not merely the basic source of all Christian doctrine, but a unique devotional book as well, the right use of which brought the soul into intimate fellowship with the heavenly Father. Since it was of such vital importance to the people it was not to be chained to the priest's desk but to be given freely to all. To that end Luther offered to his countrymen the Bible translated in the language they could read. Though translations had been made before, his work was so superior and so widely disseminated that it marked an epoch in religious history. The common people were now given the opportunity to see for themselves. They had an authority to which they could appeal when state governments or church authorities encroached upon their personal rights.

2. As regards the second cardinal doctrine, justification by faith alone, it is quite right to say that the reformer placed it over against the mediæval doctrine of salvation by works. But he did more. The term "justification" was used in a sense differing from the customary usage. We may affirm that justification by grace through faith was the full and true statement of the Reformation position. It is central for this great movement and was a real rediscovery of Paul's message. Justification means forgiveness. It does not mean that God declares a man to be righteous, nor even that he makes him righteous. Man is the sinner and he has nothing to bring. But God in his mercy receives him when he comes and forgives him. That is, it is by grace.

And this, so far as man's side is concerned, is by faith alone. Man does not earn it by good works or deserve it by what he is. He simply receives it in trust. Such faith, however, is no mere cold assent to religious truth. It is no mere believing with the mind, and it is more than truth that is believed. It is perfect trust in this God who comes to us in Christ and it is a surrender of life and will. Out of such a faith obedience and all the works of a Christian life will spring, must spring; you might as well try to separate burning and shining from fire as to separate works from such faith. But the works do not merit or purchase the forgiveness in whole or in any part.

By this great word Luther set men free, not only from anxious dependence upon their own works and merit, but from dependence upon the church which claimed to dispense salvation through its sacraments, grant forgiveness through its priests, and transfer merit to men from the store which it claimed to possess and control. He comes now directly to God. The good works come, but they come freely from the new spirit of love within, while this spirit at the same time binds man to a wonderful service. To quote his magnificent paradox: a Christian is not only "the most free lord of all and subject to none," but, in his newly found liberty, he is "the most dutiful servant of all and subject to everyone."[7] In other words, liberty implies obligation. It is not an end in itself; it must eventuate in service.

Furthermore, in order to serve, reclaimed man must be wholly free from all fear as regards his own religious state and future destiny. "When you know that you have through Christ a good and gracious God," Luther triumphantly concludes, "then you are lord over heaven and earth with Christ; you have nothing more to do than go about your business and serve your neighbor." Still another implication is involved in the new appraisal given to this world. By regarding salvation as a present reality and not merely an accomplishment reserved for the future world, Luther in one bold stroke gave this world a reality and value of its own and upheld the sanctity of the common relations of life. To cite one characteristic utterance: "It looks like a great thing when a monk renounces everything and goes into a cloister, and carries on a life of asceticism. . . . On the other hand, it looks like a small thing when a maid cooks and cleans and does other housework. But because God's command is here, even such a small work must be praised as a service of God far surpassing the holiness and asceticism of all monks and nuns."

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[7] Found in the devotional treatise, *On the Liberty of a Christian Man.*

3. The third pillar is commonly called the priesthood of all believers. This, the democratic pronouncement of the movement, obliterated the gulf which separated the clergy from the laity, and made the Reformation a lay movement in its origins. In place of an exclusive hierarchy and a privileged priesthood now stood the common believer, a priest, prophet, and king by divine right, under the spiritual priesthood of Jesus Christ. This made for democracy, though for democracy, as we employ the term, Luther had little understanding and less sympathy. He was forced to use all his energy in destroying the supreme bulwark of special privilege, and, in the nature of the case, was blinded to those grand vistas of the rights of common man which later ages gradually opened up. The tentacles of a vast ecclesiastical tyranny had to be cut before the wider secular sphere could be considered. Fullness of life comes only when we, in Luther's pregnant phrase, are "reciprocally and mutually one the Christ of the other."

Other contributions of this many-sided religious genius need only to be mentioned in order to be appreciated. He dealt the double standard of mediæval piety a death blow by his reconstruction of domestic life. In the spirit of the New Testament he cast a halo over the home. This realm of his life made him refreshingly human. "What care I if I am in debt?" he once exclaimed. "Katie pays the bills." In the realm of hymnody and literature Luther's name stands pre-eminent. The great battle hymn of the Reformation, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," will live as long as song and music endure. In the field of religious instruction he contributed not only his matchless translation of the Bible but also his two catechisms for the training of Christians in the essentials of the faith.

The man himself was full of contradictions; temperamentally passionate, outspoken, coarse, vituperative, and tender—complete analysis of his character cannot be undertaken. Suffice it to say, that seldom has a man with so many faults and such opposite traits of character been able to accomplish so much. This merry, melancholy prophet, practical mystic, seer and promoter, dogmatic despot and loving father exerted his tremendous influence because of his natural gifts, his terrible earnestness, absolute sincerity, and overmastering faith in his God.

CHAPTER X

THE EXTENSION OF PROTESTANTISM AND THE ROMAN REVIVAL

THE Reformation spread to other lands soon after its outbreak in Germany. Poland for a time, Hungary partially, the Scandinavian countries permanently accepted the Lutheran expression of reform. England experienced a change that was peculiar to herself. The other Protestant countries were practically all Calvinistic.

A. ZWINGLI

Before the appearance of Calvin, a Swiss reformer by the name of Ulrich Zwingli, independent of the Lutheran protest, took his first definite step against Rome in 1521, carrying with him the town of Zurich in 1523. In time the more prosperous cantons joined, the more conservative forest cantons remaining within the Catholic fold. The characteristic features of this early Swiss protest were: (1) a close alliance with humanism; (2) an intimate affiliation with nationalistic sentiments; (3) pro-aristocratic and anti-mystical tendencies; (4) radical puritanical regulation of life; (5) repudiation of all that had no express warrant in Scripture; and (6) as a consequence of this principle, drastic revision of church polity and ritual in the direction of Congregationalism and Quakerism. Zwingli retained two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The latter he regarded merely in its symbolical sense as a memorial meal. Because of the conflict with the Lutheran interpretation, which maintained that the body of Christ was "really" present along with the bread and wine, the saying arose that "the Lutherans ate God *with* the bread; the Catholics ate God *in* the bread; the Zwinglians ate bread *without* God."

B. CALVINISM

Although lacking in appreciation of the deeply spiritual, Zwinglianism was giving much promise of success when the violent death of its founder in 1531, in a war against the Catholic cantons, suddenly brought it to a stop.

1. Calvin. In 1536 a French scholar happened to pass through the city-state of Geneva where the Reformation had already spread. He became, almost against his will, the guiding force of a movement which absorbed Zwinglianism and gave an impress of its own upon the most aggressive form of Protestantism. The French scholar was John Calvin.

Born in northern France in 1509, educated for law at French universities, a later decision led him into a life devoted to scholarship, from which he entered into a position of commanding leadership in the Protestant movement. William Farel, his predecessor in Geneva, actually forced him into this work under a threat of God's curse, should he refuse. He not only inherited what Zwinglianism had left but constructed, through the application of an organizing genius and a keen, logical mind, a church polity, a theology, and a system of moral ideas, which were able to weather the worst storms of persecution.

His conversion in 1533 enlisted the powers of his capacious mind and indomitable will in the cause of religion. In 1536 appeared his masterpiece, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,*[1] which, with its subsequent enlargements, became the standard systematic work for this type of Protestantism. With Geneva as a center, over which Calvin ruled like a pope, successive waves of influence spread out which ultimately swept over France, Holland, parts of Germany, Poland, Scotland, England, and America. When the great clash came between the old and the new it was Calvinism, and not Lutheranism, that proved to be the chief buffer to Catholic aggression. With the growing democratic tendencies of a later day Calvinism was most in sympathy. Though largely discredited by modern thought, in its own day it seemed irresistible because of its logic and its efficient church system.

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[1] This work has been called "the greatest contribution to systematic theology ever written."

2. Doctrines. Calvin borrowed much from Luther, Zwingli, and others, but he distilled it so marvelously in the alembic of his mind and clothed it in a style so trenchant and perspicuous that it appeared to his contemporaries as a new living thing. Starting with premises which were generally held, based upon a Bible that was inerrant, he forged out of it, with a logic that could not be tripped, a system much like that of the great Aquinas, the standard Catholic authority.

The absolute sovereignty of God is the starting point of his system. Since God is absolute, his decrees are absolute. Since man's salvation is utterly dependent upon these decrees, human merit has no standing whatever. With one fell stroke the whole Catholic penitential system falls. The controlling motive in this predestinating activity of God is his own glory, hence that glory must ever be the prime concern of man. Whether it squares with our sense of justice makes no difference, for we should not be wise above that which is written in the Bible. That some are eternally damned cannot be helped. Indeed, man falls through the ordinance of God, yet also because of his own wickedness, however that may be explained. Reprobation was just as certain as election. This may appear "frightful" (horrible) to use Calvin's own word, but it is true.

The practical outcome of this theorizing was the submergence of the concept of God as love by the concept of God as power, which involved the loss of Luther's noble idea of a gracious God in Christ. It degraded the conception of man as man, insisting upon total depravity and utterly denying moral freedom, as indeed Luther did also. Theoretically it made of none effect a life of ethical striving, though in practice moral behavior, as the outward sign of election, was usually stressed. The Bible was twisted by the application of the "scrap theory,"[2] resulting in the notion that an alleged divine mandate once uttered is good for all time. For instance, when we read, "Do I not hate them all that hate thee," the implication is that we must hate God's enemies, even though we should love our own. If God's will involves the destruction of evil, the evildoer is included. Tolerance is, consequently, a wicked doctrine, for it demands that one compromise with the devil.

The whole system as briefly outlined seems harsh and cruel. So it is on paper. In actual practice Calvinists were better than their creed. Predestination seems to dull the keen edge of moral endeavor,[3] yet Calvinists are among the most stalwart, ethically insistent Christians in the history of the church. Their doctrine of God is certainly defective and yet God is central, his will determinative. Fatalism inheres in their doctrine of election, and yet they lived as if they had to make that election sure. The idea of being among the elect would seem to make for aristocracy, but this was neutralized by the thought that before the holy God all men were alike, not one capable of saving himself by the possession of superior natural gifts. And in comparison with the Almighty Ruler all earthly potentates were insignificant and human distinctions of rank as nothing. These democratizing tendencies came to fruition in the great seventeenth century struggle between political despotism and political freedom in which Calvinism was on the side of the latter. Not monkish abstention from the life of the world but active participation in secular as well as spiritual affairs was usually stressed. The effect of this affirmation is noticeable in the relation of Calvinism to economic history as well as to the political already mentioned.[4]

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[2] So called because each part, scrap, was considered of equal value.

[3] Some Calvinists opposed foreign missions claiming that God would take care of the heathen in his own good way.

3. Polity. Calvinism had a narrower conception of the church than that which it repudiated. According to the former it was a body apart, the congregation of saints, called out of the world for a holy purpose. In Geneva, church and state were *one,* under a theocracy, and the church was the one. In other lands theocracy was tempered by the larger autonomy which was allowed the state. Both church and state were to work out the divine plan for all the relationships of man, though not quite in the sense of the larger ideal of our twentieth-century vision of the Christianization of all life. By creating a church polity on the basis of an alleged scriptural model Calvinism introduced some democratic elements. The principle of representation was incorporated in the church assemblies from the local session on up through the presbytery and the synod to the General Assembly. In Geneva, however, the individual was allowed very little opportunity for the expression of doctrines or ideals which ran counter to those held by the authorities. Every person's life was under constant surveillance. Each individual had to give an account of himself. The Catholic confessional had been summarily cast out, yet here we have it in another form. Dire punishments were meted out upon the guilty. The famous physician, Servetus, who dabbled in theology, was merely one of the number of the wicked or the heretical who perished in this Protestant inquisition.

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[4] See below reference on Puritanism, p. 433.

Simplicity in worship was stressed almost to the extreme. Everything that savored of Catholicism—images, vestments, bells, candles—was discarded; in fact, that which we associate with the strict Puritan spirit had its origin here. Christianity became identified with these stereotyped practices and forms; the church, as a result, became burdened with a new set of legalisms. The ascetic spirit created a new category of things forbidden the Christian which, in its externalism and repressions, was nothing less than the old Pharisaism and the old monkish austerity transplanted into the world at large. That most of the defects and extravagances of Calvinism were virtues overstressed, accounts for its rocky strength and tremendous effectiveness. Though it was lacking in genial warmth and broad sympathies, its very intensity supplied the backbone that was so much needed by Protestantism in its early stages of development.

C. ARMINIANISM

A rigorous system like Calvinism, with its absolutism and fatalism, was bound sooner or later to meet with revolt. The human mind is never long satisfied with a "block universe" where no place is found for novelty, originality, or freedom. Arminianism[5] modified the prevailing Calvinism of the day in the direction of a more humanistic and ethical expression. In humanizing theology and promoting toleration it prepared Christianity for the days of transition just ahead. Though condemned at the Synod of Dort (1618-19), its famous five points lived on to harass the orthodox. Briefly put, they read: (1) God chose to save those who he knew would believe and persist to the end; (2) Christ died for all (universality of the atonement) but only believers receive the actual benefit; (3) Man is not totally depraved and may co-operate with God in his salvation; (4) Although not irresistible, God's co-operative grace is necessary; (5) Divine grace bestows sufficient power to enable man to win, though through his own fault he may be lost. The Arminian could not accept "Once in grace, always in grace." As we shall see,[6] Methodism gave Arminianism not only a more evangelical content but also a decided impetus.

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[5] From Arminius, the Latinized name of Jakob von Herman, d. 1609.

D. THE REFORMATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

A rapid survey of the Protestant movement in other lands is all that can be attempted in the few remaining pages. In England the undercurrent of revolt came to the surface when the king, Henry VIII, rebelled against the pope's domination upon the latter's refusal to grant a divorce. The Act of Supremacy, 1534, signalized the break with Rome after the king had obtained from the servile English prelates that which Rome had denied. The revolt was largely a governmental matter and, except where Lollardy and a sprinkling of Lutheranism prevailed, England was predominantly Catholic. Through a series of reigns the people were compelled to change their faith in accordance with royal edict so that one bishop was said to have been able to sing a new song to the Lord four times in fourteen years, and yet never sing out of tune. From the anti-papal Catholicism of Henry VIII to the Anglicanism of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, we find frequent changes inaugurated, not by a compelling faith of the people, but by the compelling will or whim of the government. In the reign of Edward VI, the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Forty-two Articles of Religion[7] were adopted. They set the Church of England in the direction of a more thorough Protestant reform. After the pope had made the last successful bid for power in the reign of Queen Mary, England seemed to settle down to a compromise through the wise leadership of good Queen Bess. Such was not to be the case, however, for in the reign of Elizabeth a strong protest against "popery" arose known as Puritanism.

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[6] See Chapter XI.

[7] Later modified and reduced to thirty-nine articles.

1. Puritanism. At first a protest against "popish vestments," it gradually assumed deeper implications looking toward doctrinal changes in the constitution of the Church of England until, in the seventeenth century, *Puritan* came to signify civil liberty in conflict with tyranny in both church and state. A temporary victory with the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell's dictatorship resulted in the displacement of Episcopacy by Presbyterianism and a larger incorporation of Calvinism. Though Puritanism as a party ceased to exist after the restoration of Charles II in 1660, its spirit lived on in various sects. Despite obvious defects—its rigid literalism, its Sabbatarianism, its intolerance, its lack of historical perspective and consequent contempt for all tradition, its spirit of discord, and its depreciation of the æsthetic—the movement left a heritage which abides as a potent influence in both England and America. It not only helped to create an English Church, which is Protestant as well as Catholic, but it displaced the divine authority of priestcraft by the authority of the individual conscience and the divine right of kings by the theory of Parliamentary supremacy. By its insistence upon a strenuous morality, upon a deep sense of responsibility, combined with a profound assurance of God's righteous government as revealed in the Bible, and an intense conviction of apprehended truth, Puritanism liberated the individual soul and put iron into the blood. Strength and robust faith are here, even though charm, affectionate sympathy, and joyous appreciation of the minor elegancies of life are lacking. Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* will ever

stand as supreme achievements of the human spirit and of Puritanism.

2. Results. In Scotland the religious revolt centered about the person of John Knox (d. 1572). The fiery prophet left the impress of his stern personality upon his native land in the sturdy Scotch Presbyterian church with its Calvinistic theology and Puritan practice. The movement early identified itself with patriotic sentiment as opposed to the foreign and Catholic domination of France. Ireland, with the exception of the northern Scotch-Irish section, remained true to the Catholic faith. The net result in Great Britain was a thoroughly Calvinized Scotland and north Ireland, and a partially Calvinized England. In the latter country, Anglicanism represented a Catholic hierarchy, much Catholic ritual, and a mixture of Calvinistic, Arminian, and Lutheran theology. The movement known as Dissent[8] created a number of virile denominations outside the Establishment, such as the Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and later the Methodists, which have done more than share in the promotion of the spiritual life of the nation. These dissenting groups, however, found their golden opportunities at a later day in America.

E. RADICAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

1. The Anabaptists. A number of extreme expressions of the religious revolt demand brief consideration before we conclude with the Catholic counter attack and the wars of religion. The name "Anabaptist" was applied to some of the extremist groups because their enemies taunted them with the practice of "re-baptism." Arising among the poor, disinherited classes, it spread most rapidly among the exploited masses. It was thus a social as well as a religious propaganda. Naturally, much of the so-

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[8] Also termed "Nonconformist" because of its refusal to conform to the Established Church.

called "lunatic fringe" associated with every great revolt, attached itself to this radical wave. Communism, premillennial hopes and the second coming, murder, and excesses under the alleged leading of the Spirit, marked some of the earlier expressions, but these cannot be taken to represent the real movement. Brought to a halt by the bloody sequel of these hysterical outbursts, the movement developed under the sane direction of prophetic spirits like Balthazar Hubmaier (burned at the stake in 1528) and Menno Simons[9] (1492-1559), the latter of whom reorganized the disrupted forces.

Allowing for some divergence in doctrine, the chief positions maintained by the higher teachings of Anabaptism included opposition to all war, separation of church and state, the anti-Augustinian conception that moral goodness saved man, belief in the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, and a "rational baptism" (of adults only on confession of faith). Moreover, these simple folk actually believed that the ethics of Jesus were applicable to the relations of everyday life. Little wonder that Harnack was led to affirm that they were three hundred years ahead of their time. Due to extravagance as well as to the radical views of some of their exponents, the Anabaptists were wiped out in some regions by the most revolting persecutions and savage slaughter, only to spring up elsewhere. An idea cannot be shot or burned at the stake, however, and to-day the Quakers, Baptists, Mennonites, and others in historical connection with the sixteenth century "despised visionaries" are carrying on this spiritual emphasis.

2. The Socinians. Another radical wave of thought was the Socinian, receiving its name from the chief promoter, Faustus Socinus (d. 1604), born in Italy but doing the major part of his work in Poland. Like later Deism, Socinianism expressed it-

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[9] From his name came the term "Mennonite."

self in a rationalistic protest against alleged irrational doctrines. Five denials sprang from this method of negation: (1) denial of the Trinity and with it the deity of Christ, (2) the vicarious atonement, (3) predestination, (4) total depravity, and (5) eternity of hell. Positively, this rationalistic supernaturalism held to the natural worth and dignity of man, the moral influence theory of Christ's death, and the subjection of all traditional doctrines to rational scrutiny. It pronounced the Scriptures and especially the life of Jesus as normative. Driven out of Poland by the Jesuits, its influence spread to Holland, England, and America, where it created an atmosphere congenial to the later Unitarian movement.

F. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

To meet the disintegrating forces which both Renaissance and Reformation had set in motion, the Catholic Church responded in the form of a counter attack. Reform was in the air. Every institution felt its impact. Europe was concerned about its soul and the papacy had to face the same issue. Until the time of the energetic pope, Paul III (1534-49), little was accomplished. Some of the more flagrant abuses were quietly remedied. Efforts were made to revive the church by allowing larger lay participation, by increased emphasis upon preaching, by the promotion of mystical piety, by translations of the Scriptures, and by the creation of new religious orders. Eradication of heresy was effected through the Inquisition and the Index. Systematization of doctrine, removal of abuses, and intensification of discipline were the work of the Council of Trent. The aggressive spirit, the supreme agency of conquest, the shock troops of offensive spiritual warfare sprang to life at the magic touch of the great Loyola. To the last named agency we direct our attention first.

1. The Jesuits. The Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), became interested in the life of the spirit after the prospects of military glory had been crushed through a wound received in battle. His intense, passionate nature led him to found a "Holy Club," which eventually grew into the Society of Jesus, confirmed by the pope in 1540. The Monastic vows, poverty, chastity, and absolute obedience to the pope, together with the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, constituted the basis of the order. This latter book, which might be termed the Bible of the Jesuits, is a psychological masterpiece. By means of external representations and inner suggestions, glorious pictures of heaven and gruesome pictures of hell, with prolonged meditations on the passion of Christ and the individual's own sins, the novice is brought to a state of complete subjection to God, that is, the church. This accomplished, further discipline, training, espionage, and military exactions served to crucify the individual's own conscience. Jesuits became pliant instruments in the hands of the superior. Of them it may truly be said:

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."

The ethics of this order has received severe criticism. Its casuistry has been frequently exposed. Taking some of this with a grain of salt, it appears that the teaching in certain expressions, such as intentionalism,[10] and probabilism,[11] did justify unethical procedure. While not doubting the sincerity and consecration of men like Loyola and Xavier, candid investigations have revealed an all too eager proneness to take the short cut, to adopt the get-quick-results plan.

The immediate objective, not always kept in view, was the spiritual invigoration of the church. The external program included the holding of Latin countries for Catholicism, and the conquest of regions lost to Protestantism. Remarkable success crowned their efforts. The flying squadron of the papacy won back Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and also a number of reigning sovereigns. They created the best schools for the training of youth, actively promoted the cause of foreign missions, became acknowledged leaders in the field of politics and statecraft, and engaged in vast commercial enterprises. The missionary and civilizing project among the natives in Paraguay, South America, was so signally successful as a social venture that it elicited the unstinted praise of Voltaire. Unfortunately, efficiency and success became the watchwords of the movement as a whole, to the disparagement of higher spiritual values.

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[10] The end justifies the means.
[11] The probability of a thing being good makes it good.

Because of its fatal interference in the affairs of nations and of the church, its unethical practices and intolerant attitude, a papal bull of suppression was promulgated in 1773. This proved to be only temporary, for in 1814 reinstatement gave the Jesuits, who had found refuge in Protestant Prussia and Greek Catholic Russia, a new opportunity to dominate the policies of Roman Catholicism.

2. The Council of Trent. The second great agency was equally important in its peculiar field. The Council of Trent, meeting from 1545 to 1563 in three sessions, was so thoroughly dominated by the pope that the saying arose, "The Holy Ghost came from Rome in a dispatch box." In the last session, under Jesuit leadership, especially that of Lainez, the General of the Order, a pronounced anti-Protestant position was adopted. At the Council mediævalism became intrenched; tradition was placed on a par with Scripture; clerical celibacy was made binding for all time; the doctrines of the church were systematized and restated; gross abuses were removed and drastic reforms instituted; education was fostered; and,

finally, authority was so definitely localized within the Curia that henceforth we may speak technically of a Roman Catholic Church in distinction from mediæval Catholicism.

3. The Inquisition. The third weapon, the *Sanctum Officium,*[12] or Inquisition, was reorganized in 1542 by Paul III. It was, as in the Middle Ages, an ecclesiastical court whose objective, the discovery and eradication of heresy, permitted the wildest excesses. The penalties were confiscation of property, imprisonment, torture, banishment, and death. The engines of torture were as cruel as the imagination could devise. Secrecy, suspicion, jealousy, and greed so often entered into the arrangements and motives of the inquisitors that opposition became pronounced even in Catholic countries. But it proved very effective in Spain and Italy, where thousands became victims. That cruel coercion and infliction of pain could enter into a church revival can be explained only on the basis of the belief that heresy was a cancerous growth, and as such of real peril to the church. To insure the safety of the whole mystical body of Christ a serious operation was held to be at times necessary. Physical torture was also justified whenever its employment gave promise of the salvation of the soul of the victim. The Congregation of the Index, established in 1571, assisted in the "cleansing" process by its prohibition to the faithful of all books and statements which the authorities declared heretical.

The results of the Roman Revival were immediate. Protestantism was halted and Catholicism extended. The former had been weakened by internal strife, the latter became aggressive in the vision of a world task. The former in places was losing its grip on the moral life because of antinomian[13] tendencies; the latter was making more of moral demands because of the association of works with faith. By the end of the century Catholicism appeared more vigorous and spiritually creative than her rival and certainly more united. In the wars of religion to which we now turn most of the early advantages were with the older church.

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[12] The Holy Office.

[13] The term signifies a false dependence upon faith as relieving one from obedience to all law; and the idea that since man was saved by faith alone, the moral law could make no demand upon him.

G. Wars of Religion

The sixteenth and even the seventeenth century believed that religion was something in defense of which one should take up arms. Political causes did not become prominent until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

1. France. France was the scene of the first bloodshed on a large scale, in a series of eight wars which lasted from 1569 to 1598. The Huguenots,[14] or French Protestants, early came under the spell of Calvin, organized a party and, with leaders interested in politics as well as in religion, became so influential that the opposing Catholic party took alarm. In the ensuing wars neither side gained much advantage. The terrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew night occurred in 1572 in which many thousands of Protestants perished, among them Admiral Coligny, their outstanding leader. In the final war, Henry of Navarre, a Protestant, gradually gained the ascendancy and ultimately the throne by becoming nominally a Catholic. "Paris is worth a mass," he is reported to have said. It was worth much to his former co-religionists, for, as Henry IV, he issued the Edict of Nantes, 1598, which granted the Huguenots not only toleration but certain political rights and territorial domains. The latter privilege was their undoing. When Cardinal Richelieu later sought to unify France he could not tolerate a state within

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[14] Probably from the word "Eidgenossen" (Confederates) used among the Swiss.

a state. His policy led to the end of Huguenot political power. Their last stronghold, La Rochelle, was captured in 1628. Louis XIV went still farther. By persistent persecution and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, he drove from France about fifty thousand families, whose industry and thrift enriched the lands to which they fled.[15] Protestantism never caught the imagination of the French people as it did that of the Teutonic nations. The crown, the universities, the Latin mind, all seemed to be more or less impervious to the appeal of individualism inherent in the new movement.

2. The Netherlands. The story in the Netherlands was like and unlike that just related. The southern part, now known as Belgium, remained Catholic for reasons similar to those which kept France Catholic. The northern provinces, more commercial and less dominated by the clergy, adopted Calvinism. The protracted struggle of the Dutch patriots against the despotic power of Spain makes one of the glorious romances of history, with William of Orange gallantly guiding the destinies of the heroic people to ultimate victory. Independence was proclaimed in 1581, and officially recognized in 1648. Although Holland in time became the refuge for all persecuted people, it was not thus in the beginning, for high Calvinism, from its vantage point of power, brooked no opposition.

3. Thirty Years' War. The last stage of military conflict was staged in Germany and is known as the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Continued friction between Catholics and Protestants, unsatisfactory solutions adopted in the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), the penetration of Calvinism into southern Germany, all had something to do with the outbreak. Into the details of the four stages of the war we cannot enter. Suffice it to say that after initial success

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[15] Especially Holland, England and America.

on the part of the Catholic emperor, Ferdinand II, the tide turned in favor of the Protestant north, due largely to the campaigns of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. The latter entered the war for political as well as for religious reasons, for the defense of his Baltic territories not less than for the defense of the Protestant cause. He compelled lukewarm Protestant princes to enter the cause and fought a number of successful engagements, losing his life in the Battle of Lutzen, 1632, which was won, however, against the greatest Catholic general, Wallenstein. When the latter was assassinated soon after, and France had become a combatant against the Catholic House of Hapsburg, the war continued for many more years with the religious issues almost entirely obliterated. After this bloody scramble for power, peace finally came to the land which hardly knew what it meant. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, in a sense marks the end of the Reformation period. Each great camp decided to tolerate the existence of the other. Church lands were to remain as they were in 1624, the "normal year." The independence of Switzerland and of Holland was recognized. France and Sweden gained the most, Austria and Spain the least, while Germany was to feel the effects of the devastating conflict for two centuries.

H. General Results

The events of the Reformation era decided that Europe in the west was to have two permanent opposing religious camps; that the Protestant wave of conquest should stop about where the ancient Roman empire had its boundaries; that the Latin races generally would refuse to accept the individualistic positions of the new faith; that humanism, originally favored by Catholicism, then in part by Protestantism, and finding neither congenial, was to experience a decided rebuff by both; that culture and science henceforth were to be found outside the churches more generally than had been the case before the great schism; that eventually religious toleration was to come, not because of its advocacy by either religious group, but out of the protracted warfare between the sects. Thus Protestantism was significant at first, not because of what it actually accomplished, but, rather, because of what it made possible. The first fruits of the movement were indeed disappointing, but the integrity of the individual soul did receive a much needed defense against the overpowering weight of the institution; individual liberty became at least possible with the collapse of papal despotism; the Bible became an open book; and God, who had been pushed far off in his utter transcendence, was brought closer to man.

CHAPTER XI

REVIVALS OF PIETISM

WE have seen how Catholicism experienced periodic revivals. Every institution, in fact, which is composed of fallible, emotional individuals seems to need a periodic reforming and reviving. Like a battery which is run down, it receives a new lease of life only after being recharged. The church itself is no exception to the rule. Its long history is replete with revival movements, some orthodox and approved, others heterodox and disapproved. The church owes much to the latter group,[1] but it is with the former type that we chiefly deal in this chapter.

At the very beginning of our era we find the initial spiritual outburst creating a body with which to function in the world. Additional forms and institutions came into being for the purpose of expressing more adequately the life that was within. The tragedy has been that form, symbol, framework, have assumed an importance out of all proportion to their original relation to the living faith which created them to be convenient instruments and not ends in themselves. Man creates a framework to help himself express in idea and action the life that is within, and then proceeds to mistake the framework for the life. The result is, as one has expressed it, the living faith of dead men becomes the dead faith of living men. At this stage some ardent souls arise in protest seeking beneath the externals for the mysterious life which is so elusive and yet so near. These facts must be borne in mind in the attempt to understand the various expressions of the great struggle of personal religion with institutionalism in the post-

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[1] See Jones, Rufus M., *The Church's Debt to the Heretics.*

Reformation period. Two of these waves of pietism broke forth within Catholicism, namely, Jansenism and Quietism. A larger number watered the parched lands of Protestantism, among the chief of which were Pietism, Moravianism, Quakerism, and Methodism.

A. REVIVALS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The great Roman Revival under the inspiration of Jesuit leadership had spent its force by the middle of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits themselves had lost much of their original religious zeal and became involved more and more in ecclesiastical and political propaganda. Religion was identified with the organization, the truth with the church. The result was externalism in religion, casuistry in thinking.

1. Jansenism. Institutionalism threatened to crush the autonomy of the individual soul and the latter came back with a rebound in the movement sponsored by Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638). His posthumous work, *Augustinus,* published in 1640, was the spark that lit the fire of personal religion. In time the weighty influence of the Port Royal school of theology, led by the keen thinker, Pascal, came to the support of the movement now known as Jansenism. The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal were especially destructive, in their biting sarcasm, of the loose casuistry of Jesuitism. Despite powerful backing, however, the Jansenists were crushed by the triple alliance of the pope, the French king, and the Jesuits. A small Jensenist Catholic church in Holland is the sole historic survival of a movement which once had reflected in a brilliant attack the strong Augustinian flare-up against the Pelagianizing tendencies of Jesuitism. This church claims to be in the true Catholic succession, regularly sending congratulations to every new pope-elect, only to receive as regularly the papal condemnation.

Jansenism had much in common with Protestant thinking, though claiming to be at all times anti-Protestant. It stressed personal religion and the necessity of individual conversion as over against the institutionalism of Catholicism. God could come into vital, immediate contact with each individual soul without the mediation of priest or church. As in Calvinism, man's helplessness and God's overpowering grace were taken for granted. The reality of religious experience, mystical contemplation, and personal communion with God were at the center of the Christian's life but not on that account to exclude works of charity. An exaggerated individualism, however, precluded a thoroughgoing application of the social principles of the gospel. Though far inferior in the moral-spiritual realm, it must be admitted that the Jesuits had a wider outlook upon life and more appreciation for the social and institutional aspects of the life of the church. But this admission cannot justify their cruel suppression of one of the most intensely spiritual movements of modern times. Louis XIV had already banished many thousands of Huguenots by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This made the additional loss of another fervent religious group a fatal one for the spiritual life of France. To the minds of many, Christianity came to be identified with the decadent Jesuit version of the eighteenth century, a soil in which an equally narrow rationalism readily flourished. The Jesuit victory over Jansenism helped to produce a Voltaire.

2. Quietism. A more mystical protest against the formalism of the church and the intellectualizing of the faith came in the form of Quietism at the time when Jansenism was fighting its losing battle. The Spaniard, Molinos, an early protagonist of this spiritualizing process, was on the point of winning the pope's support when the ever-watchful Jesuits interfered. The falling standard was then taken up by two notable French leaders, Madame Guyon and

Fénelon (1651-1715). The ecclesiastical arbiter of France, Bossuet, sensed in this spontaneous, irrepressible outbreak a danger to the church system. Organization man as he was, he failed to see any good in unrestrained religious enthusiasm.

Like all mysticism, Quietism stressed the way of negation and purgation, passive contemplation and illumination as channels of approach to God. Extreme self-renunciation which led the believer through faith into a state of disinterested love brought true salvation. This disinterested love implied, according to the interpretation of Madame Guyon, a willingness on the part of the devotee to be damned if need be, for the eternal glory of God. Farther love could not go. The saintly Fénelon, though less extreme, bravely defended the main positions against hostile attack. His acknowledged orthodoxy and extensive influence did not avail; with flying colors he went down to defeat. Again institutionalism prevailed over individualism; the regulated decorum of the organization triumphed over the erratic spiritual whims of spontaneous enthusiasm. And again Catholicism was the loser, suffering the loss that the ancient Catholic Church sustained in the suppression of Montanism.

B. REVIVALS IN PROTESTANTISM

The revival of personal religion was even more marked and much more successful in the non-Catholic lands. Notable among these were the pietistic outbursts in Holland and Germany, followed by the Moravian movement. In England we may enumerate the agitation of the Friends, and the Wesleyan movement; in America, the Great Awakening and other revivals.[2]

1. Pietism. According to the law of religious ups and downs there was need of a new energizing im-

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[2] The American movements are discussed in Chapter XIV.

petus upon Protestant soil after the first spiritual outburst had spent its force. Prolonged strife over petty questions of doctrine thrust out matters of far greater religious import. After a number of these controversies had well-nigh wrecked the movement, peace was purchased at a terrific price. All theological truth in this settlement, known as the Formula of Concord of 1580, was held to be embodied in perfected and final form from which no divergence even as to phraseology was to be permitted. Protestant Scholasticism threatened to extinguish the life spark of religion in its insistence upon the primacy of dogma, upon the external standards established once for all by the learned theologians. As in mediævalism, so in seventeenth-century Lutheranism the externals—the framework, the forms and symbols—usurped the commanding authority rightfully held by the soul in its experience of contact with the Eternal. Instead of construing religion in terms of the inner consciousness, it was construed in terms of ecclesiastical forms and theological formulas. A decided slump in morals and religion, aggravated by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, made the cry for a new reformation again the burden of earnest souls.

The first cry in the wilderness came from the voice and pen of the mystic Arndt, whose book, *True Christianity,* presented the devotional aspects of the personal religious life as well as the ethical principles of practical living. Jacob Boehme, who has been called "the father of modern mysticism," and others of a more radical bent of mind, ably supported this striving for greater reality in the Christian life. In the Netherlands, where Calvinism had gone to seed on predestination, we find similar echoes in the teachings of Voet of Utrecht and Cocceius of Leyden. Not only was experience given the right of way above doctrine, but consistent efforts were made to obtain a satisfactory intellectual undergirding for this spiritual life, showing the influence of both Descartes and Spinoza.

This intellectual strain is less noticeable in the distinctive German movement inaugurated by Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705), who, as teacher, theologian, preacher, and finally as provost of the University of Berlin, became the outstanding religious leader of Germany. When he saw that religion was becoming a stereotyped thing, with the emphasis upon nonessentials, he arose like another Luther to fight a similar battle. His clarion call issued from the pages of a little book called *Pia Desideria,* or *Pious Desires,* published in 1675. The authentic voice of a prophet broke through the crust of Scholasticism and revealed theology in its true light as a convenient and necessary but not an arbitrary and absolute summary of beliefs. In his reaction against ecclesiasticism and the domination of the church by the state, he sought to place religion upon its own feet. Emphasis was laid upon individualism and upon personal religious experience; hence the practical and human values instead of the theoretical and scholastic came to the front. He resurrected Luther's almost forgotten fundamental belief in the primacy of a personal living faith in God. Consequently, those doctrines which vitally pertained to this experience—the doctrines of conversion, assurance, and perfection—received special emphasis.

Practical interests, however, engaged most of his attention. To promote the devotional, personal religious life which he hoped would react favorably upon the morals of the people, he organized classes for mutual edification which became known as *collegia pietatis,* or societies of piety. Scripture was studied primarily for devotional, not polemical purposes, religious education was fostered, a scientific study of church history was attempted, and foreign missions stimulated. To this must be added the democratizing of the church in the direction of greater lay activity, and the influence exerted upon the developing rationalistic movement through the pietistic atmosphere surrounding men like Herder, Goethe, Schleiermacher, and Kant.

The creative spirit of German Pietism found its greatest exponent in August Hermann Francke, the guiding genius of the university and orphan home at Halle, which after 1694 constituted the headquarters of the rapidly expanding revival. From this spiritualizing center radiated influences, social, intellectual and religious, which left an abiding mark upon the Lutheran Church. Students and wandering pietists spread the ferment, while visitors from abroad, Wesley among them, caught the contagious spirit. Despite the rise of a new static orthodoxy combined with a hard legalism, the pietistic revival performed a mission of real value. Strange to relate, Halle University in the eighteenth century was captured by a shallow rationalism of the French and English Deistic type.

The movement was not wholly beneficial. Too narrow and self-centered to begin with, it developed attitudes of bigotry, spiritual pride, bibliolatry, other-worldliness, exclusiveness, and asceticism which greatly limited its usefulness. Traditional doctrines of human depravity and a dualism between the natural and the supernatural also vitiated some of its fruits. By the middle of the century pietistic life of the virile type was to be found largely in a less pretentious revivalistic expression which in some of its forms was an offshoot of Pietism. In other words, Moravianism carried on.

2. Moravianism. The Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum,* with its roots back in the Bohemian-Moravian movement, entered upon its distinctive world career with the settlement of a persecuted group of the brethren upon the estates of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony. In 1727 this reorganized society, with Herrnhut, its New Jerusalem, as the center, began

its astonishing missionary activity. In 1742 it won recognition as an independent church despite the opposition of Zinzendorf. Though the influence of Pietism was quite marked, the new church was more than a mere copy of its foster parent. Its missionary spirit was more pronounced, legalism was less in evidence, and the "penitential conflict," stressed in Halle Pietism, was virtually omitted. Immediacy of religious feeling in the conversion experience, regarded as essential in the making of a Christian, brought joy and peace to the individual and a gracious spirit of fellowship to the members of the society. For a time an extreme form of quietistic mysticism led to abnormal expressions and effeminate sentimentalism. Fortunately, this period of "darkness" was not of long duration. Under the guidance of the organizer and poet, Zinzendorf, and the sane theologian, Spangenberg, the church became more useful and really found itself by losing itself in world-wide missionary activity. Always a peculiar people, somewhat narrow in their religious outlook, depreciative of the natural reason, choosing to be in the world but not of it, they nevertheless proved to be a stimulating influence upon larger Christian bodies and upon a number of creative minds, such as Schleiermacher and Wesley. Through self-denying service, passionate loyalty to Christ, and through a recognition of the church's world task, Moravianism has nobly served the church universal.

3. The Friends. In the annals of church history the Friends, or Quakers,[3] occupy a place second to none for consistency of action, adherence to ideals, and purity of living. Their founder, George Fox (1624-1691), was the supreme spiritual prophet of

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[3] The name "Quaker" applied in derision came to be a name of honor. It is supposed to have originated in the statement of a judge who, when threatened by a Friend with the prophecy, "Thou shalt quake in the Last Judgment," retorted "No, thou shalt be the quaker."

his age in England. Coming at a time when Puritan and Anglican were at death's grip and heart religion was being smothered beneath a mass of diverse rites, customs, and forms held to be essential, his passionate soul found not the peace it craved. Although the serious lad was reared in a Christian home and never gave himself to the wanton pleasures of youth, he was dissatisfied and sought help from a clergyman. The latter's prescription of tobacco and psalm-singing proved to the seeker that in the organized church and its ministry he could not find God and heart satisfaction. Thus arose that bitter hatred for all organized forms of religion, because of the abuse to which these forms give rise. After years of struggle and searching, in his twenty-first year he broke through darkness and doubt and saw the light. "Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in . . . and he gave me his spirit and grace, which I found sufficient." This experience, however explained, made a profound difference in his life and through him in the life of the world. Fox immediately started upon a holy crusade to purge religion of its errors and external trappings. Authority in church and state found him dangerous. Under the Blasphemy Act he was imprisoned, a fate which met him and his followers on various occasions. Many of the latter were heavily fined. But, undaunted, the fiery prophet refused to entertain half-way measures, took his stand firmly on the leadings of the Spirit, and refused to compromise when the inner voice spoke.

A summary of his views as given by Rufus M. Jones[4] is so comprehensive and written with such charm of style that it deserves to be given in full: "He threw away all crutches at the start and called upon everybody to walk in the Spirit, to live in the

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[4] Fox, George, *An Autobiography.* Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, pp. 38, 39. Reprinted by permission of The Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.

Light. His house of worship was bare of everything but seats. It had no shrine, for the shekinah was to be in the hearts of those who worshiped. It had no altar, for God needed no appeasing, seeing that he himself had made the sacrifice for sin. It had no baptismal font, for baptism was in his belief nothing short of immersion into the life of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. . . . There was no communion table, because he believed that the true communion consisted in partaking directly of the soul's spiritual bread—the living Christ. There were no confessionals, for in the silence, with the noise and din of the outer life hushed, the soul was to unveil itself to its Maker and let his light lay bare its true condition. There was no organ or choir, for each forgiven soul was to give praise in the glad notes that were natural to it. No censer was swung, for he believed God wanted only the fragrance of sincere and prayerful spirits. There was no priestly miter, because each member of the true church was to be priest unto God. No official robes were in evidence, because the entire business of life, in meeting and outside, was to be the putting on of the white garments of a saintly life. From beginning to end worship was the immediate appreciation of God, and the appropriate activity of the whole being in response to him."

Here we have the furthest remove from the Catholic dogma of the church and the sacraments. It is anti-sacramentarianism and anti-sacerdotalism with a vengeance. Some lofty souls of deep spiritual insight might find this way satisfactory. The average human being, however, will always be more or less dependent upon physical symbols to make real unto himself the spiritual world, and even a spiritual movement demands something of form and organization. The Quakers themselves are a demonstration of this truth. They repudiated organization as inimical to the Spirit and proceeded to organize a movement in protest. They opposed the use of external symbolism but offered to the world in speech and simple attire "Quaker testimonies" of the reality of certain spiritual truths. Even silence, so pronounced and effectual, may be considered an external means of grace. But taken in the large, the Quaker had a message which the world needed. Its outstanding features grouped themselves about the way of mysticism of which Fox and his followers have ever been notable exponents.

Quaker mysticism was similar to the mediæval Catholic expression in its stress upon immediate awareness of God and the personal guidance of the Spirit. Man was akin to God, hence capable of intimate communion with God. The seat of religious authority was to be found in the promptings of the Spirit, not in an external institution, the church, nor in an external book, the Bible. The "inner light" led into all the truth, though frequently only after a period of purgation and mortification. Contemplation, a life of simplicity and purity, periods of silence, all were conducive to the apprehension of the spiritual world. Some extreme advocates gave themselves to morbid experiences, such as visions, ecstasies, hysteria, dreams, and quietistic extravagances. But these pathological phenomena never conquered the movement because of the marvelous system of checking up on individualistic eccentricities. This was done in the social meeting of the Friends, which became a sort of clearing house of religious experiences. The corporate experience of the group usually checked any individual extravagance. May not this corporate mysticism have been the reason for the remarkable sanity and self-control of the movement? The directing spirits of this mystical faith were usually men of moderation, controlled passion, and social vision, to cite only Fox, Penn, Woolman, Whittier, and Rufus Jones.

Intense passion for inward religion and passionate yearning for God, fortunately, did not shut out the other "thirst" that Fox and his followers had, a thirst for human beings which eventuated in social religion. Human personality was magnified. The belief in the intrinsic worth of man as man, with the divine spark of God within him, led to the practice of a real genuine brotherhood. Since the Spirit was regardless of sex, women were allowed to preach and teach. Quakers were always to be found in the front ranks of social reformers and philanthropists. Projects for social amelioration, such as prison reform and the relief of poverty, received their hearty support; great solidified social evils, as slavery, intemperance, and war, usually were opposed. The social experiment of William Penn (1644-1718) in America comes to mind. In the creation of a truly Christian state, this colonizing effort remained true to the founder's high motive: "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither."

A chastening period in which education was slighted because of an exaggerated dependence upon the inward illumination, was succeeded by a temporary eclipse of their mystical fervor due to the introduction of creedalism[5]. Quakerism emerged in the last century to take its place as an influential factor in maintaining the applicability of the gospel of Christ to all relations of life. Thus we find leading Quakers espousing the cause of industrial democracy, fighting for the outlawry of the war system, and demanding the Christian attitude in racial contacts. And, finally, a broader conception of religion, truer historical perspective, greater appreciation of human practice and custom as voiced in tradition and the world of the æsthetic, have become acclimated within the movement.

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[5] This was the strange effect that the Evangelical movement had upon the society of Friends. Doctrinal emphasis worked havoc in a movement which owed its life to faith in immediate spiritual guidance.

Rufus Jones, the leading Quaker of America, has pointed out that the movement must ever stand for the possibility of receiving fresh light from God, must not be afraid of innovation and change, if it is to become increasingly, as he hopes, "the morning star heralding a larger spiritual dawn," and not "an evening star slowly sinking into a narrowing area of light." With all its peculiarities as to dress, speech, and practice, the movement bids fair to remain among the foremost aggressive spiritual exponents of Christianity. In its unequivocal stand for religious empiricism, for progressive revelation, for the primacy of the spiritual unattached to external supports, the movement will always be indispensable in the church universal, which constantly exhibits dangerous tendencies toward formalism, dogmatism, and officialism.

4. Methodism. We have already noted the contributions of religious revivals which brought stimulus and advance to various regions of Europe. A number of individual mystics had also created a sort of "psychological climate" favorable to the growth of a deep religious passion. But some of the seed of personal religion had fallen by the wayside, where it was smothered by the rank growth of secularism. This was especially true of England, despite the Puritan and Quaker movements of the preceding century. The former had lost its power as a driving force after the debacle of 1660; the latter was too limited in outlook and outreach to meet the demands of a national situation. In the striking phrase of a writer, the majority of Christians still regarded religion in such a fashion that "if you seek it, you won't find it; if you find it, you won't know it; if you know it, you haven't got it; if you've got it, you can't lose it; if you lose it, you never had it."[6]

a. Eighteenth Century England. A study of Methodism's background is essential to obtain a just appreciation of its place and value.

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[6] Quoted from *Elements of Success in Methodism*, by I. M. Gable.

The early part of the century found England very desirous of quiet and moderation. After the turmoil of the Puritan revolt political leaders, like those of America after the World War, magnified the super-values of a state of normalcy. Corruption in political life was accepted as inevitable. Walpole, the guiding power of England's destinies for a quarter of a century (1721-1742), opposed all progressive measures as being inimical to his "let-well-enough-alone" policies. The close union of church and state brought this deadening spirit into the former institution. The church, in fact, was used as a convenient tool for the promotion of political ends. On the other hand, the founding of the vast British world empire, a development largely of the eighteenth century, was a fact of significant importance because it offered the church a world outlook of which Wesley, with his inspiring slogan, "I regard the world as my parish," took advantage. Another factor of equal significance was the organization of the Parliamentary State (beginning with the Glorious Revolution in 1688) with its marked democratic tendencies. The limitation of royal power involved in this governmental change accrued to the advantage of the common man. Here also the religious movement of a decidedly popular type found congenial soil.

During the century England was gradually changing from an agricultural to an industrial nation. Through the invention of power machinery in the last quarter of the century, a marvelous change gradually came over the economic world which is known as the Industrial Revolution.[7] The results at first were disastrous to life, morals, and religion. Readjustments to the rapidly changing conditions of life were made by neither state nor church. For a long time this new unregulated industrialism with its system of coercion and iron discipline connived with a brutal legal system and a proud landed aristocracy to bring indescribable misery and distress upon the helpless masses. The latter were beginning to be housed like cattle in unsanitary, unwholesome congested districts and forced to work twelve to fifteen hours for a mere pittance. Since the Anglican Church lacked vision, some other religious agency was urgently needed to cope with this pressing national problem. The Evangelical Revival was the answer as far as a movement of that day could perceive the social implications of the gospel.

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[7] Cf. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.*

Socially, the life of the majority was a monotonous, drab existence. The socially elite had a monopoly of the enjoyments and thrills of life. They were generally selfish and supremely unconcerned about the lot of their less fortunate fellow men. Poet, preacher, and satirist are at one with the private diaries and public records in depicting English society as profligate, improvident, and shockingly immoral.[8]

Amusements were often coarse, gambling extremely prevalent, governmentally sanctioned lotteries everywhere, cock-fighting and bull-baiting and feminine pugilistic contests not infrequent. In spite of drastic enforcement of severe laws, crime seemed to be on the increase. Multitudes often witnessed public executions of prisoners, many of whom suffered the death penalty for trivial misdemeanors. Prisons were punitive institutions whose influence was demoralizing and loathsome. Mobs gathered at the slightest provocation; indeed, were often organized by those in authority. The Society of Mohocks of London engaged in rioting, arson, rolling women down hill in hogsheads, as a regular nightly pastime.

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[8] Cf. *The Spectator, The Tatler, Gulliver's Travels, Moral Essays,* and *Satires of Pope,* lengthy treatises of Bishops Secker, Butler and others, well authenticated documents of church and state, diocesan histories, legal enactments, etc.

Drunkenness was more prevalent than perhaps in any other period of English history. The stage was condemned by a drama-lover like Addison as extremely offensive. Wesley's designation of the theatre as a "sink of all profaneness and debauchery" was not much overdrawn. Much of the literature was sentimental trash when not blatantly obscene, though books of real worth were also produced.

That the dark features are not unduly stressed[9] may appear from the painstaking work of Abbey and Overton,[10] to whom a brighter picture would naturally appeal because of their Anglican proclivities. They were reluctantly driven to the conclusion that religion and morals were at low ebb and that the church had reached its nadir.

Although a subtle "spiritual paralysis" was creeping over both the Anglican and dissenting churches, signs of activity were not wanting in the intellectual field. Doctrinal discussion and strife enlivened an otherwise lethargic religious approach to the nation's needs. The most important of these was the attempt to undergird church tradition and practice, intellectually, against the manifold attacks of free-thinkers called Deists.[11] The latter contended for a natural religion which all rational men might accept, in consequence of which many traditions, doctrines, and practices of the historic church were summarily cast aside as so much worthless rubbish. Naturally, although we now see the weakness and some of the puerilities of the Deistic contentions, the Christian apologists of the day—Butler, Berkeley, Law, and others—felt that Christianity must be shown to be reasonable, a faith that could be logically demonstrated and to be accepted on that score. In general, the Deists prepared the ground for the Wesleyan emphasis in showing the weakness of external evidence as a support of Christianity. Thus while men were being driven by both apologist and Deist to find a new basis for religious faith, Dodwell, a contemporary writer, saw the truth which Wesley later placed at the basis of his revival,[12] the truth, namely, that experience, or, as we might say, the two-legged argument, man himself, was the supreme argument for the validity of the Christian faith.

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[9] Cf. Legg, J. Wickham, *English Church Life,* who argues for the contrary view with insufficient evidence, however.

[10] In *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century,* 2 vols.

[11] For fuller discussion consult Chapter XXIII.

In a church that identified religion overmuch with correct morals and correct theology, true piety was bound to suffer. To this untoward situation must be added such ecclesiastical evils as nonresidence, pluralities, a servile clergy, a cleft between the lower and the higher clergy, preferment seeking, passionless, polemical preaching, neglect of evangelical teaching and of systematic parish work.

Practically all historians agree that England was in a bad way, the majority freely granting the Evangelical Revival to have been the chief saving agency.[13] In accepting this verdict we need not disparage other instruments, notable among which were the Religious Societies of the Anglican Church, organized in 1678 for the stimulation of piety and devotion, the Welsh revival under Griffith Jones twenty years before the Wesleyan, the impact of Pietistic and Moravian influences, the life-giving streams issuing from mystical reformers and books, and finally the constructive work of men like Watts, the hymn writer, and Philip Doddridge, the model pastor. In addition some religious values were created by the charity schools, the Society for the Reformation of Manners, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The mystic, William Law, was especially creative.

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[12] Dodwell, H., in *Christianity Not Founded on Argument*, p. 60, claimed that the living divine witness in our hearts is alone authentic and authoritative.

[13] McGiffert, A. C., *Protestant Thought Before Kant*, p. 243: "That religious faith and devotion still survived and flourished was due, not to the apologists, but to altogether different influences, of which the great evangelical revival was the most important."

b. John Wesley. When the prophet was needed he came, gathering up the isolated strands of reform and galvanizing them into a mighty religious dynamic of saving potency. Coming out of a Christian home where he had been nurtured by a remarkable mother, highly educated and religiously susceptible, John Wesley (1703-1791) entered upon his public career as a missionary to Georgia, ostensibly to save the Indians, in reality to save his own soul. His contact with the Moravians on the ocean journey cast the first serious doubts into his questioning mind concerning the saving quality of his faith. After a disappointing sojourn in America he was led still farther away from dependence upon works of self-righteousness and the practice of austerities in a number of conversations in London with Peter Boehler, a Moravian missionary. In the famous Aldersgate Street meeting, May 24, 1738, a great soul saw a great light, the light that had flashed into the hearts of countless followers of the cross in every age. It was the experience of Paul, of Augustine, of Saint Francis, of Luther repeated in the heart of "one of the most powerful and most active intellects in England."[14] However explained by psychology, the historian is forced to admit that it was a vitalizing experience which revolutionized Wesley's outlook upon life. Before we have the Oxford Methodist,[15] theologically precise, meticulously careful about ordinances, painfully seeking salvation like a mediæval monk; afterward we find a joyous self-forgetfulness in service in one who knew his sins were forgiven, and he was accepted of God, and who relegated theology, ordinances, and works to their proper sphere.

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[14] Quoted from Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 607, who also adds that this experience, because of its consequences, formed an epoch in English history.

[15] The Holy Club of Oxford, organized in 1729, by Charles Wesley and a small group of like-minded students of which John Wesley, however, soon became the leader.

c. The Wesleyan Movement. The beginning of the Methodism of history dates with this experience, though the first religious society was not founded until 1739 in Bristol. Others sprang up at the magic touch of the zealous churchman, who thought this the best method of invigorating religion. Breaking away from Moravianism because of its quietism, in 1740 he founded the first purely Methodist society in the Foundry in London. Strange to say, his church did not look kindly upon his efforts. Closed doors proved to be a blessing in disguise, however, for they drove him out into the open places, where George Whitefield (1714-1772) had already preceded him. The latter, with Charles, the brother of John Wesley, had likewise gained religious satisfaction, and the three became the outstanding leaders of the revival which soon affected many sections of Great Britain. While Whitefield was electrifying vast concourses of people with his matchless eloquence, Charles wrote hymn after hymn which winged its way into the hearts of men, and John traveled unremittingly everywhere organizing the scattered fragments of his newly founded religious nucleii into one compact institution. The organizing genius of the latter was soon apparent in the adoption of methods and agencies, old or new as the case might be, which were found to be useful. Thus came into being the class meeting, originally a financial device but soon converted into a most effective religious stimulus and check in religious extravagance. Strict control was also exercised by Wesley through the issuance of quarterly tickets to those in good standing.

The utilization of a lay ministry, for want of an ordained one, together with the itinerant system, so similar to the apostolic practice, enabled the tireless ecclesiastical promoter to keep in touch with the minutest affairs of the rapidly expanding movement. These itinerants he met (1744) regularly every year for consultation, and thus began the Annual Conferences. The circuit system, with the superintendents of the same furnishing regular reports to their "chief," made for efficiency. Although unordained, these men were not necessarily untrained. In many instances they received guidance and direction in their reading from him who read, digested, abridged and published numerous works for the benefit of his followers. Being convinced after prolonged study that in the primitive church presbyter and bishop were of one order, and feeling the urgent need of "episcopal" oversight of the growing movement denied him by his church, Wesley in 1784 ordained men for work in America, one of them, Doctor Coke, being consecrated as a superintendent (bishop).[16] Later others were ordained for work in parts of Great Britain. The breach which Wesley's "irregularities" had caused to spring up between the Anglican church and his movement was further widened by his famous Deed of Declaration (1784), which constituted the Methodist Conference (the legal One Hundred) as his successor. Despite these facts, the founder of Methodism guilelessly thought that the separatist tendency could be stayed. Charles and Samuel, his brothers, saw better, the latter exclaiming, "I am not afraid the church will excommunicate him but that he will excommunicate the church."

Thus was the movement set upon its own feet ready to become an independent church after the founder's death. In America, where Wesley's followers had become active in 1766, and whither Francis Asbury, the future organizer of the societies, had gone in

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[16] Charles strenuously opposed this action as noted in a stanza:

"How easily are bishops made,
By man or woman's whim!
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?"

1771, the move for an independent church came to a head in the Christmas Conference at Baltimore in 1784 with the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This country likewise was to be the arena of its greatest expansion. This was due to Methodism's peculiar, mobile organization, its democratic doctrines, its adaptability, and the unquenchable zeal of its promoters. An effective world missionary program was inaugurated (at first by Doctor Coke) for similar reasons.

d. Doctrines. Methodism was intensely practical. It gave heed to doctrine as well. In fact, Wesley may be considered as one of the great doctrinal preachers of his century. He differed not at all with the teaching of his church and never felt that he was offering anything new. The "new" thing that he brought, the teaching that astounded his hearers and angered his superiors, was the combination of primitive Christianity's averment of immediate personal inspiration (that is, the presence and work of the Spirit) with Luther's thought of salvation by faith. Hence those doctrines which had been left in a state of coma he seemed to recreate; doctrines they were that pertained most vitally to the personal experience of the Christian. Man by God's grace through Christ could enter the way of salvation and be reborn; this grace of God was for all, hence the universality of the atonement; man could become aware of God's saving presence in his life, hence the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit (assurance); and finally, God meant salvation to be a thoroughgoing affair, hence the doctrine of Christian perfection (entire sanctification). This view has been given comprehensive expression as a free, a felt, and a full salvation.

As with the prophets of all ages, we have here a rediscovery of God. Placed almost outside the framework of this world by both Deist and apologist, Wesley brought God close and made him vitally real.

If God is love, then he must be near, must be vital in human experience, must be for all men and for all of man.[17] Thus a rather vague notion of General Providence and ultimate salvation was both personalized and individualized and made a present reality. Thus a mysticism[18] all too prone to extravagance was ethicized and socialized. No wonder the common people heard gladly one who, like unto his Master, showed that God could touch the very springs of a man's actions and change his whole attitude toward life. It is no wonder that the miners, the peasants, and the day laborers were entranced when they heard that all men were children of God with divine possibilities.

e. Results. Inspired with this noble message the Saint John of England engaged in an endless variety of activities in order "to spread scriptural holiness over the land." The bare mention of them staggers the mind. In each of the main fields of his work he performed a man's task, whether it was preaching (42,000 sermons), or traveling (frequently 8,000 miles annually), or literary activity (a library of 50 volumes, books revised or abridged and innumerable tracts), or studying (over 2,000 volumes read), or pastoral ministration (hundreds of chapels and thousands of personal followers). All forms of systematic relief engaged his attention, exemplified in the Strangers' Society, poor relief, free labor bureaus, medical dispensaries, orphanages, and widows' homes. Schools, tract societies, Bible societies, Sunday schools, together with his indefatigable efforts in the training of his own lay preachers, indicated his interest in education.

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[17] That Wesley did not see the full implications of his message may be gleaned from a statement in *The New Republic,* February 8, 1919: "Had the Methodist doctrine of holiness or perfect love been followed in all its social and economic implications, Methodism would have been the home of that passion for human brotherhood, religious in its intensity, which has been shown by many groups of men and women outside the church, and as Doctor Dale, of Birmingham, has said, 'Methodism would have inaugurated a revolution compared with which the Protestant Reformation would have to take second place.' "

[18] Wesley was a practical mystic, despite his denial.

Special note should be made of the publication of countless volumes and leaflets, and journals, including works not distinctively religious. Wesley was the real originator of popular and inexpensive libraries, and publishing activities have continued prominent with Methodists ever since.

As if this were not enough, Wesley evinced a lively concern in the great social, economic, and political questions of the day, such as civic reform, dueling, smuggling, prison reform, intemperance, and slavery. Throughout, this realistic idealist usually kept a sweet spirit, an open mind which welcomed new thought, and toleration for the opinions of those who differed with him. In the Calvinistic controversy alone, in which Whitefield's friendship was temporarily sacrificed, was his temper ruffled.[19] That he ruled his societies with an iron hand cannot be gainsaid, but it was an authority exercised in love.

Some results of the revival are easily tabulated, others are more or less obscure. The religious life of England was quickened, both dissenting and Anglican churches feeling the uprush of a new birth, the latter through the rise of the Evangelical Party. Fellowship in religion and life was stimulated. Religious education was brought to the front in the rise of the Sunday-school movement and issuance of tracts. Foreign missions received a decided spur. The Salvation Army issued from the parent stock, a strong and lusty child. The morals of the nation, especially among the lower classes, improved. A mighty impetus was given to the humanitarian movements which enriched the life of the following century. Socially, England was spared the ravages of a bloody revolution.[20] The barren rationalism of Deism was overcome. A great contribution was rendered to popular song.[21] The cause of democracy received new support in the emancipation of the individual. In recognizing the validity of the religious emotions, religion itself was given an independent value. Finally, the Labor Movement received a spiritual undergirding.[22] But, unfortunately, intensification sometimes leads to narrowness and exaggeration. Despite Wesley's broader social vision, Evangelicalism was too individualistic and unduly hostile or indifferent to wide realms of art, culture, and science. It was still mediæval in some of its theology, while at the same time lacking in a proper appreciation of historic continuity and the church's unity with the past.

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[19] In this strife Wesley's Arminianism ran roughshod over the Calvinistic leanings of some of his followers. Wesley wisely left his friend, Fletcher, a saintly character, to conduct the Arminian side of the struggle.

Evangelicalism need not hide its face because of these faults. Its contributions far outweigh its defects. In various manifestations it has enriched the life of the world, and given reality to religious experience which it can never lose.

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[20] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* vol. ii, pp. 691f.: "England also escaped the contagion. The prominent cause was a new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that were associated with the Revolution in France."

[21] Martineau, the Unitarian theologian, states somewhere, "After the Scriptures the Wesley Hymn book appears to me the grandest instrument of popular religious culture that Christendom has produced."

[22] Sidney Webb, among others, makes this claim.

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF THE MODERN SPIRIT

ONE approach to the modern period is by way of comparison with the mediæval. Although mediævalism is still reflected in certain attitudes and forms of our time, we note a great difference in the dominant expressions and institutions of to-day. Politically speaking, the imperial idea as embodied in the Holy Roman Empire dominated the mediæval period; to-day the national state rules supreme. The system of feudalism constituted the economic framework of mediævalism; the capitalistic system, that of to-day. As a part of the latter we have the modern wage system in contrast with the mediæval system of serfdom and vassalage. Then, the institution, whether church or state or guild, was regarded as an end into which or for which the individual fitted himself. Now, the spirit of individualism makes man himself primary, on the assumption that institutions are not ends but means for the promotion of the individuals who create or compose them. Moreover, as Catholicism characterized the mediæval mind, so Protestantism more fully reflects the modern mind. A final consideration is the fact that mediæval Scholasticism, given to dogma, authority, and theory, has generally been displaced by the reign of natural science which stresses natural reason, experience, and fact.

Although the Reformation helped to make possible the transition from mediævalism to the modern world, it was itself partly mediæval in outlook. In breaking the chains of the autocratic mediæval system and the despotic papal power, however, it played an important part in the emancipation of the human mind. Equally, if not more significant in the promotion of "equality, liberty, and fraternity," were the great pietistic revivals of the seventeenth century. But the chief roots and the most potent contributory causes are to be found elsewhere.

A. THE RISE OF THE MODERN SPIRIT

1. The Renaissance. The origins of this modern spirit can be traced back to the Renaissance with its re-creation of the ancient Greek attitude toward man, nature, and the joyousness of living. It was distinctly an affirmation of this world, a reaction against the mediæval denial of this world. Its humanistic view of life and its critical spirit received scant notice from the two great opposing religious confessions after each had given it a half-hearted welcome. The interests of the institution and dogma seemed to be endangered by the critical attitudes, scientific investigations, and free-thinking processes of the humanists. Though suppressed so far as ecclesiasticism could accomplish the task, it was not crushed.

2. Rationalism. After the protests of Socinianism and Arminianism against alleged irrational doctrines had offered a new basis for thought, a second uprising of natural reason burst forth in a devastating attack against those elements in the church which were deemed to be contrary to reason. This attack at first was made ostensibly for a rational faith and against the mental inertia, dogma, ecclesiasticism, and traditionalism alleged to be characteristic of the church. Beginning as Deism[1] in England, it was transplanted to the continent where the brilliant Voltaire became its prophet. In him we find its identification of religion with humanitarianism, its exaggerated emphasis upon natural reason to the disparagement of other integrants of the human spirit

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[1] See Chapter XXIII for a fuller description.

such as the emotions and the intuition and its lack of the historic sense leading to depreciation of the past. It soon degenerated into an intellectual fad, thinking to explain all life and truth on the basis of pure reason. Other pathways to truth and to life were ignored when not ridiculed. In Germany the movement was more thoroughgoing and, led by Wolff, Lessing, and others, was known as the Enlightenment.

Rationalism was rescued from its own dangerous tendencies largely by the work of the great philosopher Immanuel Kant (d. 1804). Its value was recognized and its real contribution accepted by this recluse of Königsberg, a man with a little body but a mighty intellect and a great heart. Kant endeavored to show the limits of pure reason in that it could neither demonstrate nor overthrow the objects of belief. The latter, such as God, immortality, and freedom—in fact, all the truths and values of the supersensible world come within the realm of what he called the practical reason. This is reminiscent of Pascal's apothegm that the heart has its reasons of which the reason cannot know. Likewise in his emphasis upon the validity of religious experience and upon the "categorical imperative," the authoritative voice of duty, he rose to the support of religion against its detractors. Some feel, however, that Kant failed in his lack of appreciation of historic Christianity, in his one-sided individualistic and ethical emphasis, and in his leaving the road open to skepticism.

Other giants of thought sought to round out and complete the rational approach. Men like Fichte and Schelling, in the early part of the nineteenth century, reasoned that no dualism should exist as between God and man or as between God and nature. All is dynamic with the life of God and akin, not alien to God. Then came Hegel, who sought to explain the whole process by attempting to bring it all within a metaphysical system. It was a system which set forth the process as the conflict of opposing tendencies which were always being resolved in an ultimate synthesis. Redemption itself was enlarged to include the whole world process, including every relationship that is involved in the development of universal history. Besides rationalizing faith this movement gave currency to the idea of development and enlarged our conceptions of God and the world. Idealistic philosophy from Kant to Hegel and beyond has been a mighty bulwark against all materialistic tendencies.

3. Romanticism. Pietism had stressed the good, rationalism had done justice to the true, but the beautiful had been neglected. To supply the defects in the other two movements—lack of emotionalism in rationalism and lack of the æsthetic in pietism—romanticism arose in the person of its supreme prophet, Goethe (1749-1832), and lesser lights, the sweet spirited Herder, the poet Schiller, and the historian Schlegel. These men were craving again for that which the humanists had sought, the poetry, the joy, the music, the beautiful in life. Like the mediævalist they were also in a quest for wonder, for mystery, for romance, which cold rationalism had declared nonexistent. Rousseau in France, Shelley and Wordsworth in England had voiced a similar note. A great outburst of music in the masterpieces of Bach, Beethoven, Wagner and others had prepared the way for the æsthetic idealists. A great literary and artistic period was the result. Self-expression displaced ascetic self-renunciation, a joyous life in this world of self-realization superseded the notion of a religion of the other world. Although not of the orthodox stamp the leaders in the romanticist movement were intensely interested in religion. If poetry is the "breath and finer spirit of all knowledge," then the religion of "culture," with its demand for an all-

embracing conception of life as heralded by the romanticists, has made for the enrichment of life and religion. Its later period of decay and hostility to religion cannot blind us to the worth of its earlier contributions, among the chief of which was its slogan that the intellect is not the only road to truth.

4. Natural Science. In the Middle Ages theology had staked off the field of knowledge, warning all trespassers to keep off. Alchemy, the forerunner of chemistry, astrology, the forerunner of astronomy, and physical research in general, were often under suspicion. Men who had a glimpse of the scientific method and made discoveries in the physical realm suffered grievously at the hands of the hierarchy because of the church's mistaken zeal for God and fear of the dangerous revelations of the new learning. Free inquiry was not altogether prohibited, however, seeing that the Dominican, Albertus Magnus, and the Cardinal of Cusa (d. 1461) indulged in it. Usually, however, experimental science was regarded as dangerous to religion.

After the first martyrs to the cause of free investigation and untrammeled penetration into the hidden physical mysteries of the world had suffered and even died[2] for the right of seeking truth, a better day began to dawn for both religion and science. Protestantism had unwittingly promoted the right of science to investigate when it proclaimed the right of private judgment and, in the name of a minority group, demanded toleration. Man began to see that theology, which had been the sworn foe of science, was not synonymous with religion, and that the latter need not necessarily suffer when new advances in science forced a change in theological statement. And, finally, men of science acquired more respect for religion when they discovered that their own work had to do with the world of things that are seen and not with the world of values and ideals, with which religion primarily concerned itself.

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[2] Giordano Bruno in 1600 was sent to the stake by the Inquisition.

The influence of natural science in the creation of the modern spirit cannot be exaggerated. The work of Copernicus (d. 1543) in proving that the sun was the center of our solar system displaced the age-old Ptolemaic theory of the earth's centricity and stationary position. The Copernican theory was not only upheld by the researches of Kepler and Galileo, the latter of whom died as prisoner of the Inquisition for his views, but it was transcended in importance by the discovery of the English physicist, Sir Isaac Newton (d. 1727), who demonstrated that the whole universe moves according to law.

Perhaps the most revolutionary theory, at least in its influence upon theology, is that which Charles Darwin and other scientists laboriously built up—the theory of organic evolution. The idea of development had been applied to man's historic march through the ages and to the history of thought and institutions, but now it was applied to the entire history of life from the smallest cell to man himself. The publication of Darwin's book, *The Origin of Species,* in 1859, was epoch-making because it first brought the attention of the world to the issues involved. The whole realm of organic life was now brought under the reign of natural law. Though modifications have since been made, the theory in some form has been generally accepted by the scientific world. It has materially affected religious thinking without endangering essential religion. Indeed, many devout Christian thinkers testify to the enlargement and the enrichment of their idea of God and the world wrought by the theory when spiritually interpreted. The laws in question, it is claimed, merely illustrate how God works. On the other hand, there have been materialistic and naturalistic thinkers who have tried to use the scientific theory to support their anti-religious philosophy.

Adequately to appraise the changes brought in by the reign of science requires more than a discussion of the ideas and laws which creative intelligence and the scientific imagination have given us. Even more important, therefore, than the knowledge of gravitation, of conservation of energy, or radio-activity, we may consider the method and the attitude of the scientific spirit with its appeal to fact. The scientific mind is here. Every alleged truth must now stand the test of investigation and verification. Out of this has come the appeal to experience as a source of authority, and the demand that historical problems should be studied in the light of historic development.

5. The Social Sciences and Democracy. The Middle Ages produced the Third Estate, that middle class which became the backbone of Protestantism. The Fourth Estate came into being in the eighteenth century with the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the Labor Movement. The masses, so called, arose in their might to demand their rights as human beings. Coincident with this great mass movement there developed a deeper sense of the sacredness of human life and a greater emphasis upon right ethical conduct. As a consequence the secular realms of life were sanctified and elements of real moral worth were found within the ordinary processes of human living. In other words, all places are sacred and all persons are sacred, and that is most sacred which ministers most to human life. Furthermore, since man was discovered to be essentially a social being, the feeling of social responsibility was measurably deepened. The democratic movement assumed a rôle hardly less important than the scientific spirit in the creation of the modern spirit. As Troeltsch phrased it, we have as a characteristic of the modern world a marvelous

extension of freedom and a pronounced intensification of personality.

The rise and development of the social sciences opened the eyes of the modern man to the terrible social inequalities which prevail and which man with vision, heart, and scientific technique may remedy. With the emergence of his Majesty, the common man, and a better understanding of the relation of the spiritual to the material, the ideal to the actual, and the eternal to the temporal, a host of social agencies have been created to make this a better world, or, in theological terms, to build the kingdom of God. One peculiar feature is the indifference or even hostility to the Christian Church that some of these ethical and humanitarian movements have shown. Though due largely to misunderstanding this unfortunate relationship, on the other hand, reveals that much of the Christian spirit is now found outside of organized Christianity. No longer can the church be thought of as the sole dispenser of the spirit of Christ. Chiefly through the magnificent work of the church, however, that spirit has gone to the ends of the world to manifest itself at times in unexpected quarters and amid unusual surroundings.

6. World Expansion. A final consideration deals with the material expansion of the cramped and provincial mediæval world into a world where mythical barriers have been demolished and where limitations created by ignorance have largely been dispelled. All realms of life have been affected by the extension of man's interest to every part of the globe. The modern mind as a consequence has been given a vision and a task vouchsafed to no previous age. A mere enumeration of the results almost staggers the mind: (1) The world has come under the influence and, in part, the domination of European ideas and culture; (2) the white race, through exploration and conquest, has affected and directed the destinies of

all races; (3) Christianity has developed a real world outlook and world mission previously lacking; (4) contact with other cultures and civilizations has had a marked reflex influence upon the West; (5) contact with other great religions has created the science of comparative religion, out of which has grown (6) a new apologetic for Christianity as reinterpretation became mandatory in the face of real religious and cultural values discovered outside of Christendom.

This brief survey of modern tendencies may suffice to show their vast significance to religious thought and life. It now remains to trace the results of the impact of the modern spirit upon Christianity and the channels through which the new tendencies passed into the church. It is obvious that Protestantism, and not Catholicism, must furnish the arena upon which the play of these contending forces takes place. By the famous Syllabus of Errors of 1864 Pope Pius IX definitely condemned modern "progress, liberalism, and civilization as lately introduced." When Modernism arose in that church to adapt the Catholic faith to modern ideas, it was drastically suppressed and its leading exponents, Loisy and Tyrrell, excommunicated. It is thus in countries dominated by Protestantism that the greatest development has occurred. 7,

B. Religious Thought in Germany

The first creative work in the reconstruction of religious thought in Germany was begun by Schleiermacher, modified by the Mediating School, extended by Ritschl and Troeltsch, and then taken up by scholars in other lands, notably England and America.

1. Schleiermacher. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834) has been called the father of modern theology because out of his reinterpretation of the Christian religion have come

nearly all the distinctive elements which are vital in modern religious thought. The old orthodoxy had been partially vitalized by the pietistic revivals but much remained to be done to free Christianity of dogmatism and to make it acceptable to the "cultured despisers of religion." In his great work, *The Christian Faith,* he laid down the lines along which religious thought must go to meet the needs of the modern world.

Negatively, this constructive German thinker declared against the arid dogmatism which had identified religion with theology and had made of the former a new legalism. Against the equally arid intellectualistic approach of the rationalists he protested in the name of reason. To both groups he gave what was greatly needed—a new definition of religion. He distinguished it from dogma on the one hand and from conduct on the other. Religion was more than a correct philosophy or a noble ethics. It is native to the soul, an inner consciousness of dependence upon the Infinite, the very essence of life in its deepest recesses and its highest reaches. It is inward experience, vital, authentic, an ultimate inference of the soul. It is that which raises a man above himself. This awareness of God cannot be shaken by changes in the realm of thought or by new discoveries in the realm of science. Though the mystical emphasis here stressed appears extremely individualistic, Schleiermacher did not neglect the social. Indeed, he made the social nature of religion essential to its very being. Since man could be fully saved only through the social fellowship, the church became a necessity, and its social experience a valuable check upon extravagant individual expressions.

The whole range of systematic theology was covered by this speculative genius. His system centered in God and in Christ. Divine immanence was stressed against the prevailing Deistic notion of a God separated from the world, though it must be granted that his theory bordered on pantheism. Christ's redemptive life and work, his creative power in all human history, was made the determinative principle of his thought. The Master sought to make actual in all men his own awareness of God, union with God. That was salvation since it issued in the victory of man's spirit over his lower propensities and in the transformation of the inner character. Deliverance from guilt and the power of sin was generally minimized because of the emphasis placed upon salvation as the enrichment of life. Because of this subjective approach Schleiermacher, likewise, with the mystics generally, emphasized Christ *in* us rather than *for* us.

Questions dealing with the supernatural and with religious authority were given a new impress by his creative touch. All of God's relations with man were declared to be supernatural, yet they were also truly natural because they followed a law expressive of the deepest nature of God. Authority, he felt, should be made vital, rooted in life, not in codes or rules. It is a matter of the spirit and ultimately grounded in man's own experience, not in anything external to him. The Bible was authoritative insofar as it appealed to this inner consciousness. Concerning the future life little of a definite nature was predicated, and that in the direction of an impersonal existence. Because of the crudities and the selfishness sometimes attached to the belief in personal immortality, the reformer theologian reacted against it, satisfied that God's present salvation was sufficient. Building upon previous suggestions Schleiermacher gave the support of his massive intellect to the magnificent idea that the whole of human life was an educational process under the tutelage of the Divine Instructor. In this world process Christianity was conceived as the primary factor of redemption. Other religions, however, were related to this process because they, like the ancient Greek philosophy, were preparing the way for Christ. Through life and history "one increasing purpose" runs, the grand end of which is the Kingdom. Since history as well as experience was regarded as fundamental in this study, Schleiermacher aided in the creation of the science of comparative religion; and, finally, his comprehensive studies in the inner life of man promoted the psychology of religion.

Despite serious defects which critics have seen in this system, such as his extreme subjectivism, his inadequate views of God, of immortality, and of the historic Jesus, these critics are most unanimous in proclaiming him the saviour of theology. His warm evangelical passion (derived from the pietists), a real appreciation of the æsthetic and intuitional (an influence from the romanticists), and a deep insight into the meaning of speculative thought and the meaning of history combined to make him the prophet of a new day. All subsequent religious thought has been influenced by him.

2. The Mediating School. Disagreeing with both the Confessional school, which was extremely conservative, and with the Hegelian school, which was rationalistic, a number of outstanding theologians took up a mediating position. These men, among them Rothe, Mueller, Dorner, and the historian Neander, accepted the greater part of Schleiermacher's system, but against him affirmed the personality of God, the reality of a unique supernatural revelation, and the miracles of Scripture. They were warmly evangelical but not narrow, attempting to remain true to the essentials of the faith with a mind open to new truth. The true inspiration but not verbal inerrancy of the Bible was also part of their belief, as well as the theory known as the kenosis, based upon the self-emptying of divine qualities in Christ as found in the second chapter of Philippians. They sought to com-

bine in their conception of true piety the emphasis of Kant upon the will, the emphasis of Hegel upon thought, and the emphasis of Schleiermacher upon the emotions.

3. The Ritschlian School. The outstanding theologian of the latter half of the nineteenth century, second to Schleiermacher in point of influence, was Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889). He was even more prominent than his predecessor in the creation of a distinct school of thought. The name of his epoch-making book, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation,* indicates the heart of his religious interest. Ritschl felt that Schleiermacher, because of the individualism and mysticism of his thinking, failed to stress adequately the historic importance of Jesus and the Kingdom ideal which he founded. Negatively the new system was a reaction against vague philosophical speculations, against the dry dogmatism of the traditionalists, and against the extravagant mystical tendencies of pietism. Its positive tone, based upon history and upon the ethical and the social emphasis in Christianity, also met the intellectual needs of many thoughtful Christians who were seeking help against the encroachments upon faith of materialism and naturalism.

Religious pragmatism found utterance in Ritschl's famous theory of value-judgments. This teaching was that considerations in religion are of moment only in accordance with their real value to us. Not what God is in himself but what God means to us, not what Christ is in his innermost nature but what his life and teaching have meant to us, are the primary questions of faith. Since Christ brings God to us he has the value of God to us. Like Schleiermacher, he maintained that the intellect was not the surest road to God, but, unlike him, deprecated the emphasis placed upon mystical vision and feeling. Instead, man reaches God through the exercise of the moral will. "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know" (John 7. 17), was his favorite passage.

The center of the faith is found in the historic Jesus who mediates to us faith in God. That constitutes redemption. The goal of this redemptive process is the creation of a holy society, the kingdom of God. The historic Jesus is thus made normative and the church, as the chief instrument in the realization of the kingdom of redeemed men, is declared to be a social necessity. The greatest contributions of the Ritschlian system are these: the emphasis upon Jesus Christ as basic in the Christian religion, the stress upon the social element in the doctrine of the Kingdom (church), and the validity of Christian experience as the proof of Christianity. Although Ritschl went too far in his anti-metaphysical and anti-mystical attitudes, in his exaggerated subjectivism, and, as many critics claim, in his excessive religious pragmatism, his work has had abiding value not only in serving as a check upon a proud intellectualism and upon the emotional excesses of mysticism, but in giving history and experience prime consideration in the study of Christianity.

The members of the Ritschlian school, Herrmann, Harnack, Kaftan, and others, have greatly modified the teacher's positions in reference to the weaknesses noted above. Herrmann has shown more appreciation for the mystical approach, Kaftan for the objective elements in Christianity, and Harnack for the whole historical process.

4. Troeltsch and the Religious Historical School. Sometimes numbered among the Ritschlians but practically independent and the chief exponent of a new school of thought, Ernst Troeltsch (d. 1926) was one of the first to relate Christianity to other religions. Though acknowledging and stressing the fundamental supremacy of the Christian religion over the other historic faiths, he contends that the latter also have

been recipients of God's revelation. Only on the basis of an historical study of all religions can the uniqueness of Christianity be understood and its marvelous power of reinterpretation be explained. Its finality (Troeltsch dislikes the word "absoluteness") is to be seen in this endless capacity of self-renewal. It is a progressive dynamic since reality is ever in the process of development. History and life lead ever onward and upward to God, the object of our faith, of whom Jesus has been the historical mediator and revealer.

5. Present-day Tendencies. Criticisms which have been leveled against Schleiermacher and Ritschl have not been wanting in the case of Troeltsch and like-minded thinkers. The general trend of these strictures indicates that there has been a lack of emphasis upon the doctrine of God as basic in theology. Thus Schaeder claims[3] that the prevailing anthropocentric (man-centered) conception runs through most of the schools of thought.

The newest movement in German theology is that led by Karl Barth. It is in part a revival of Calvinism. Rightly Barth and his associates realize that there has been a tendency to overemphasize the human and to leave out God. That has been done in the emphasis on history and development, in the study of the psychology of religion, even in the interest in religious experience. Against this tendency in modern thought Barth protested in the name of the transcendent God whose will was to be sought because it was determinative in human life. His emphasis, however, is extremely one-sided. His system presents to us the God of Calvin, aloft and inscrutable, rather than the God who moves in nature and history and is known in human experience. Barth claims that God is that Reality which we through our own efforts cannot reach but which can and does touch us provided we are receptive.

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[3] See, A. B. D. Alexander, in *The Shaping Forces of Modern Religious Thought*, pp. 308ff.

The central question for theology to-day, not only in Germany but elsewhere, is the question of God. Naturalism rules out God and knows only the world of the finite. Humanism makes man central. Barthianism is an attempt to make God central even though it be a return to an older idea of God. But we cannot find God by leaving the world of nature or of history or experience. It is only in these that man can know God or, to put the same truth in another way, that God can make himself known to man. We must find God in these—that is, the immanent (indwelling) God. At the same time we must realize that God himself is more than all these—that is, the transcendent God.

CHAPTER XIII

ACTION AND REACTION IN THE MODERN PERIOD

A. ACTION AND REACTION IN GREAT BRITAIN[1]

SUGGESTIONS in the direction of reconstruction in religious thought began earlier in England than on the Continent. As early as the seventeenth century a group of thinkers known as the Cambridge Platonists (Whichcote, Cudworth, and others) had essayed to found a rational theology with proper regard for the emotional and the mystical. The movement, however, almost died with its original exponents. Then came the Deists. They were largely driven from the field, though the deistic notion of God remained. The Evangelical Revival met the needs of the eighteenth century emotionally but not intellectually. Thus by the end of the century a rational supernaturalism prevailed which, though intellectually active, failed through its depreciation of the mystical and the emotional. To save vital religion on its intellectual side was the demand of the hour. To reinterpret it in accordance with the larger world view and in harmony with the spirit that view had created was the work of a noble galaxy of poets, thinkers, and practical men of affairs.

1. Coleridge. Before Coleridge, the "Schleiermacher of England," set the reconstructive process in motion the poets had anticipated him in their visions of a redeemed humanity, the unity of the world, and the sacredness of personality. Many of them be-

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[1] See Chapter XIV for the history of American religious thought.

lieved that life was shot through with spirituality, that all life was a revelation of God. Burns put a halo over the common man, Wordsworth saw the divine in all nature. The later poets Tennyson and Browning, standing as types, were more constructive and more in sympathy with the aspirations of the church. This was true, in part, because leadership in the church had advanced closer to the spiritual truths for which they stood. The reasons for that advance are now to be considered.

The poet Coleridge (1772-1834) in his prose work, *Aids to Reflection* (1825), inaugurated the new movement in English thought. This was not a systematic work but merely fragmentary musings of the thinker as he pondered over questions which had been raised by the Cambridge Platonists, Locke, and Schleiermacher. To the latter he was greatly indebted. Like the evangelicals, he stressed experience and the right of the inner spiritual sense to authenticate the truth of religion. Unlike them, he regarded man as essentially spiritual in his nature, akin to the Divine, hence saved by spiritual forces working within. The presence of the Infinite in all life was one of his major beliefs, showing however, as with Schleiermacher, traces of pantheism.

The question of biblical inspiration and authority was met in harmony with the positions presented above. His famous saying, "Whatever finds me bears witness to itself that it has proceeded from the Holy Ghost," predicated of much written in the Bible, illustrates the content of his theory. Because of the natural development of their spiritual natures the writers were able to reveal the spirit of the Divine. Inspiration was thus the outgrowth of the natural process of the relation between God and man, not a matter of mechanical dictation or verbal inspiration. In this sense the Bible is divine and human. It is self-revealing.

2. The Broad Church Party. A large group of leaders of liberal tendencies but dissimilar views came to be known as the Broad Church because of its opposition to both the Low and the High Church movements. Among the most influential of these were Dean Stanley, Kingsley, Robertson, and Maurice. After the middle of the last century this movement was at its height and expressive of the best thought of the English mind. In general it stood for a mind open to all new truth together with a restatement of theology which such an attitude demanded. Its second characteristic expression voiced itself in the great social passion with which it attacked the problems growing out of the iniquities of the social order. The *Essays and Reviews,* appearing in 1860 and written by Jowett, Mark Pattison, and others, have been called *Tract Number Ninety* of the Broad Church. It was a broadside hurled at the Catholic Tractarian movement which was then at its height.[2]

In Scotland the broadening tendencies were also felt, promoted by two men who have been called the Kant and the Schleiermacher of their country. Erskine and Campbell boldly championed truths which were regarded as novelties by the Scottish church. These dealt with the conception of the Fatherhood of God, the self-revelation of his love, redemption through the acceptance of that love, and present fellowship with God. The doctrine of the atonement was modified to harmonize with these ideas. Discarding theories of substitution, Campbell suggested that Christ's vicarious love and sacrifice constituted the supreme expression of the great law of love which is universal.[3]

3. Maurice and the Christian Socialist Movement. Frederick Denison Maurice (d. 1872) was identified

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[2] See below No. 5 on "The Oxford Movement."

[3] His book has been called the greatest work on the atonement ever written.

with the Broad Church group. His influence upon men of thought was profound, his sympathies were as wide as humanity. As a theologian he sought to humanize or democratize the conception of God. Revolting against traditional notions of an arbitrary Deity who condemned to eternal punishment, Maurice felt drawn toward the idea of universal salvation though repudiating the charge that he was a Universalist. Man, he contended, was naturally and inalienably a child of God. He may then choose to become a prodigal. His views on religion are much like those of Schleiermacher, less subjective, however, and with more consideration for the theocentric interpretation of religion.

It is in his capacity as the inaugurator of the social movement that his chief claim to fame resides. In the past the individualistic note had constituted the whole symphony of the Christian faith. When Maurice sounded the social note in the interests of life, truth and greater harmony, he was ridiculed, feared, and declared dangerous. Ably supported by the brilliant poet-novelist-preacher, Charles Kingsley (1875), and by the supremely great preacher, F. W. Robertson, he started a movement for the uplift of the masses and for the amelioration of the injustice and iniquities associated with modern industrialism. Lord Shaftesbury (d. 1885) had earlier championed the cause of the common man in Parliament with success and, despite the opposition of employers and of many church officials, he was instrumental in the creation of much legal protection for laborers and for women and children. Then came the spread of Socialism and the Revolution of 1848 with their anti-Christian tenets. A few reforming spirits felt the urgent need of a remedy to meet, in the words of Maurice, both "unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists." By their efforts noble idealism was promoted through the press, the co-operative principle was stressed, and practical work attempted, especially through the ill-fated Workingmen's College (1854). Although little of permanent value was accomplished at this time, forces were set in motion that ultimately brought the great social problem nearer solution. Similar movements on the Continent stimulated a like interest sponsored by both Catholicism and Protestantism.

4. Prophets Outside the Church. Maurice and Shaftesbury were ardent churchmen. A marked characteristic of the broadening social and intellectual outlook is the prominent place that nonchurchmen occupied in the movement. We may begin with Thomas Carlyle (d. 1884) with his trumpet blasts against the "mud philosophies" of materialism and mud ethics of the commercialized spirit. His passion for righteousness and for what ought-to-be created in him a deep sympathy for the "submerged tenth" of humanity. Matthew Arnold and John Ruskin (d. 1900) struck a similar note. The former was something like an ancient Stoic in his insistence upon duty and noble conduct, while the latter added the appreciation of the æsthetic to the prophetic note. "There is no wealth but life" was his clarion call to all who wished to serve their fellow men.

5. The Oxford Movement. Modern scholarship in the field of history and science had changed many of the old opinions about the Bible, creation, revelation, and the like. Many felt that the old faith was being undermined. One answer to this situation was given in the "Oxford Movement," so called because its first leaders were connected with Oxford University. (It is also known as the Tractarian Movement because of the "tracts" in which its leaders set forth their views.)

These Oxford men felt that the only secure position for Christianity lay in holding to the supreme authority not of the Bible or of man's reason but of the church. The church meant for them the ecclesiastical institution founded by Christ, with an authority handed down through the apostles and the bishops. That is, they believed in the "apostolic succession." They also strongly insisted on the sacraments as the means of salvation. This position finally led a number of Anglicans into the Roman Catholic Church, chief among them being John Henry Newman (d. 1890), author of "Lead, Kindly Light," and later a cardinal in the church of his final choice.

The Catholic Church gained a number of adherents besides Newman. Some of the Oxford leaders, however, men like the scholarly Pusey, remained in the Anglican Church, there to promote the Catholic principle. For this reason the movement sponsored by them and their successors has been called the High Church or Anglo-Catholic. For a time it became the dominant one, crowding the evangelical party to the wall. Despite its narrow ecclesiasticism the High Church group has shown worthy leadership in the social application of the Christian message. It has also served to revive interest in the church when such a revival was greatly needed.

6. Present Tendencies. Religious thought in Great Britain in recent years has been a little more conservative and more appreciative of the values of the past than has generally been true of the liberal trend on the Continent. Mysticism of the highest type also has been promoted by the deep philosophical thinking of Dean Inge (the Dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral), and by the productive historical work of the Catholic scholar, Baron von Hügel.

A notable contribution called *Foundations* represents a type of thought even more in harmony with the social ideals and scientific principles and achievements of to-day. It appeared in 1912. The authors, mainly from the Anglican Church, represent a fine scholarship which is both liberal and evangelical.

They have demonstrated the possibility of a rational defense of the Christian religion on the part of men with minds open to the highest in modern thought.

In the Free churches[4] constructive thinking, though not so conspicuous perhaps as in the Anglican Church, has not been lacking. Out of this group, for instance, has come James Martineau, who has been called England's most representative theologian of the nineteenth century. He was a prominent defender of Christian theism and spiritual religion against the increasing attacks of materialistic and agnostic thinkers. Since the Free churches placed less stress upon tradition, the sacraments, and church polity and were largely recruited from the lower and middle classes, they have become the strongholds of a marked democratic tendency. In certain evangelical groups which have been most in sympathy with the type of work represented by William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, personal evangelism and rescue work have received large consideration. The emotional side of religion, often neglected when intellectual interests were receiving undue attention, finds a wholesome expression in most of the evangelical groups.

B. HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGION

It may be noted here that with the rise of the historical spirit all movements, including the Christian, and all books, including the Bible, have come under the keen scrutiny of those who apply the scientific method to all problems. The Bible could not long escape this investigation, since it is a compendium of writings that have appeared in the course of Hebrew and Christian history. In this day and time it is taken for granted that the religious history and documents of any age must be related to the conditions that obtained in that age. Earlier centuries had some understanding of this approach, but it was not till the nineteenth century that it was universally recognized as the only accepted standard. Roman Catholic scholars first sensed the critical problem so far as the Bible was concerned, while Protestant scholars were the first to begin a critical study of church history centering in the mediæval period.

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[4] Under this title are to be understood those denominations formerly called Nonconformist or Dissenter, because of their withdrawal from the Church of England. The most important of these are perhaps the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Quakers.

1. Old Testament. The philosopher Spinoza (d. 1677) was among the earliest to suggest the historico-critical approach to Bible study, while the French physician Astruc (1749) first set forth what is known as the documentary hypothesis, the theory that the books of Moses were of a composite character. The name of this method of study, "higher criticism," given by the German Eichhorn, was unfortunate because it seemed to suggest a negative attitude. With the vast majority of scholars it has meant merely the historical and literary study which determines the sources, the age, authorship, unity, and reliability of a book. Theories have been posited, modified with increasing knowledge, and sometimes dismissed under the pressure of new facts, all in the interest of truth.

The year 1835 was epoch-making because it saw the publication of Strauss's *Life of Jesus* and Vatke's *Religion of the Old Testament.* The latter, influenced by Hegel's law of development, based his history upon the fact that the religion of Israel was subject to the law of growth. This was presented in a more masterly fashion by the historical genius of Heinrich Ewald (d. 1875), who was followed by Wellhausen, the outstanding exponent of "the Critical view." In Great Britain, Robertson Smith became the most conspicuous protagonist of this view.

The vast labors of a host of patient scholars in Europe and America have given us a new conception of the Books of the Old Testament and of the historical development of Israel. They have given us a picture of a gradual development from the simple pastoral life under priestly ministration and legal enactment and prophetic message to full racial and religious consciousness. The mechanical notion of revelation has been superseded by a theory of biblical inspiration more in harmony with all the facts of religion. The fact of revelation remains. Scholarship has shown its historical forms, but it is a living God who has made himself known to men through this history. The real religious message of the Old Testament has not been disturbed. George Adam Smith has said that where one suffered shipwreck because of historical criticism, ten suffered because they were without its beneficial help. Many radical and extreme theories have been rejected, destructive tendencies have been checked, and the whole critical movement has become more reverent in its attitude. Advance has been made, not by giving up the historical study, but by a better use of it. Not all students of the Bible, however, were able to accept the reconstruction of the Old Testament which the newer views demanded. A number of noted scholars have ably defended the older traditional views. Among the most prominent of these were E. W. Hengstenberg, C. F. Keil, and, in America, W. H. Green.

2. New Testament. The historico-critical approach to the New Testament has been similar to that of the Old. The chief points of study have been those which dealt with the life and teachings of Jesus, the rise of the church, and the Synoptic Problem. Semler and De Wette prepared the way for David Strauss. The publication of the latter's significant book on Jesus came in the same year with F. C. Baur's work on the Pastoral Epistles. New Testament critical study may thus be dated from the year 1835. In the interest of what he considered to be the real message of Christianity, Strauss came to the conclusion that the

ideas current in the beginning of the Christian era, the fancies and loving adoration of reverent disciples, really created the picture of Jesus. Though the historicity of Jesus was not denied, the Nazarene fades into myth. Strauss' mythical theory was easily overthrown, his results discredited, but the historical method he set in motion continued. His main contribution was a negative one. He showed the need of a critical study of the sources. To this task the great Tuebingen scholar, Ferdinand Baur, addressed himself.

Greatly influenced by Hegel's theory of the presence in all history of conflict and the adjustment of conflict in a larger synthesis, Baur posited an ingenious theory of the tendencies which he thought dominated and explained primitive Christianity. First came the Judaistic tendency, then the Hellenic, then conflict between the two, and finally attempts at adjustment ending in a complete synthesis. According to this theory, the books of the New Testament are to be placed in the chronological order in which they reflect one or the other of the tendencies mentioned. Thus Matthew would come early, Acts considerably later, and the Gospel of John, reflecting the complete synthesis, would come last.

The chief significance of Baur's work lay in his method; his results have been generally discredited. The historical method applied to the New Testament as a whole was of great value to future scholarship. Baur destroyed the mythical theory of Strauss. Moreover, he was among the first to set forth the relation of early Christianity to outside influences and to show the real opposition between the Jewish and the Hellenic mind.

On the basis of a vast amount of intensive study, the New Testament has been opened up to us in a way in which no previous age was privileged to see it. The lives of Jesus written since 1835 have been legion. It is safe to say that we know the historical Jesus better than any previous generation of men. With few exceptions, his own generation knew him not. We also have more accurate knowledge of the origin of the Gospels and the other books of the New Testament. Recent scholarship seems inclined to date some of the books further back than was formerly the case, and it seems to be more ready to grant that "tradition is right" regarding the authorship of some disputed books.

3. The Canon and Church History. The critical and historical movement has also studied the problem of the formation of the canon and the development of Christian institutions and doctrine. In this field the brilliant and penetrating investigations of Adolph Harnack (1851——) have been especially noteworthy. As a result we have a better understanding of the historic basis of the church, and of the manifold influences which went into the making of the Christian movement. And we have come to see that a doctrine can be understood only in connection with its history.

C. Roman Catholic Modernism

The Roman Catholic Church could not meet the impact of the modern spirit in the Protestant fashion. A dogmatic church which claims to be always the same, which is infallible and absolutist in principle, cannot permit the introduction of the principle of change and of reconstruction. A church which is grounded in Aquinas and fenced in by the Council of Trent finds it next to impossible to make terms with the modern spirit. Science has been given a modified approval, it is true, but the critical-historical approach has been condemned.

Modernism is that movement within Catholicism which attempts to square the church with the present, with reason, with science, and with the modern spirit. It is emphatically not Protestantism. For no church or group of churches, it contends, which lacks the support of history, which is divisive in practice, which is defective in poetry and romance, can lay claim to universality. Led by Abbé Loisy, a distinguished French scholar, and the equally famed English Jesuit, Father Tyrrell,[5] the movement claimed entire loyalty to the Catholic Church.[6] The dogma of papal infallibility is the one exception, which was not accepted on the score of its being a modern innovation. Modernists claim that if Christ should appear to-day, he would be at home at a high mass but not in a prayer meeting. They contend that the real faith would not be imperiled by accepting the assured results of modern science or by acknowledging that the divine will revealed itself progressively in the world. The emphasis of these Catholic progressive thinkers upon the whole historical process instead of some nonhistorical "essence" has served to check the extravagances of the depreciators of history.

Rome answered when Pope Pius X in 1908 issued the Bull *Pascendi,* in which he utterly condemned the movement, declared its doctrines subversive of the faith and its leaders dangerous to the church. Some of the outspoken modernists were excommunicated. Although suppressed by the hierarchy, living underground in a quiescent state, its leaders demoted, intimidated, or cast off, the intellectual ferment which has been stirred up could not so easily be put out of the way. History seems to teach that no institution can forever keep out the dominant ideas and the formative principles of an age. Even the authoritatively prescribed system to which the pope appeals and adheres must eventually be modified in the face of the inexpugnable facts of history.

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[5] Tyrrell was expelled from the Jesuit order. No Catholic rites were allowed at his funeral and burial was not permitted within consecrated ground. He died in 1909.

[6] Witness the appeal of Italian modernists to the pope: "For us Christianity is the highest expression of religion, . . . and of Christianity in its turn we consider Roman Catholicism to be the amplest realization."

D. General Results

1. The Mental Atmosphere. These are some of the characteristics of the present age: A self-confident optimism as regards man's natural powers and his pre-eminent place in the nature of things is prevalent. Self-culture and self-expression are widely held to be the chief goals of life. With this has gone a belief in progress which no previous age has so consistently held. The interests of life are limited to the present world. The notion of authority has been changed from one dependent upon external, divinely given standards to one that is dependent on its own inherent capacity to produce conviction. Where this inner conviction lags, authority lags. The question of the rationality of things is raised continually, with the appeal to experience regarded as final. Individualism arrogantly confronts institutionalism with the declaration that the autonomy of the individual is primary.

In an atmosphere such as this, with its errors and dangers as well as its emancipating influences, the modern church is compelled to live. That these manifestations of the modern spirit are not all advantageous goes without saying. Self-expression, for instance, will be of little value if there is little of value to express. The belief that progress is inevitable irrespective of man's attitude may stand in the way of progress. Worldliness may lead to the entire secularization of life. Without the check of the social conscience, and without social responsibility, individualism runs riot.

2. Effect Upon Ideas. Our age has seen changes in man's conceptions of himself, of the universe, of God, of the church, of the Bible, of Jesus, that have been nothing less than revolutionary. But this is

not entirely to be deplored, for in a growing world certain changes at times appear necessary if the truth for which older views stood is to be preserved.

The material universe has expanded before our eyes until its extension in space and its development in time appear almost without limit. The effect of these discoveries was depressing. In comparison with the material universe man was constrained to regard himself as nothing, until he realized that the highest values were qualitative and not measured by quantity at all. The conception of God as the Being in whom all this limitless space and unending time found their unity and purpose was correspondingly enlarged. It is in the ethical and the spiritual realm that the more profound ideas of God have appeared. His immanence in the world of matter and mind is stressed. With some this tells the whole story. Others avoid the pantheism here involved by thinking of God also as transcendent—personally above his creation. Some few have gone to the extravagant and unwarranted extreme of assuming that since ideas about God have come and gone God exists only in idea. Generally speaking, God, the supreme fact of life, has become in modern thought more vital and less arbitrary, more dependable and less capricious, more the father and less the judge, approaching the ideal revealed to us by Jesus Christ.

This idea of God in connection with the changed emphases in all realms has aided in the creation of a nobler idea of man. Notions of total depravity, mechanical ideas of salvation, unethical conceptions of God's relations with mankind, and others of like kind, have been largely superseded. Instead we have man regarded as akin to God, never outside of the sphere of God's loving care. Although the integrity of his soul is threatened by moral taint and disrupted by corroding sin, man is saved by overcoming the tendencies which have created anarchy. In this struggle for the abundant life man fights not alone. God's empowering grace, apprehended by faith, aids in healing the wounds of soul and body and in recreating the life harmonious. This new life hid with Christ in God issues in a passionate devotion and inspires high ethical endeavor.

Sin, which is the ruin of man, is no longer held to be merely individual, a deficit in personal qualities, but it is often dealt with as an unsocial attitude and an unchristian social life, which threatens the stability of society. Man's conscience in this larger sphere has become much more sensitive, an evidence that the social application of the gospel is producing results. Recent thought proclaims that the development of the whole human race constitutes a comprehensive spiritual enrichment of mankind, for the spiritual life of mankind is now regarded as a unity. In this process Christianity has assumed the chief rôle as guide and inspiration.

In harmony with this view the church is placed among, not separate from other agencies, all of which are sacred insofar as they function in the uplift of mankind. The great gulf which had yawned between the sacred and the secular, between the supernatural and the natural, has gradually vanished with a growing recognition of the unity of God, man, and nature. The church is not an end but a means to an end. Spiritual exclusiveness and holier-than-thou attitudes, often associated with the older views, find no room within the humanized, spiritualized conception of the Kingdom, the city of God come down upon earth.

The Bible has been given new meaning in the attempt to get at the facts and to relate it to the sacred books of other religions. Claiming for the books of the Bible that which they do not claim for themselves is now seen to be illogical and harmful. Dictation theories of a mechanical inspiration are seen to be contrary to all our knowledge of human nature and the relation of Deity to man. The lofty ideas often found in other sacred books cannot be said to be uninspired. And yet, in comparison, the Bible stands unique because it contains not only the record of Israel's spiritual development but primarily because it is our sole record of the supreme revelation of God through Jesus Christ. Modern critical study has brought the whole book in vital relation with contemporary events and in a rational harmony with the spiritual aspiration of all mankind.

The increased emphasis upon the value and the sacredness of the whole person together with the results of reverent and critical scholarship has given to our age a picture of the historic Jesus such as no preceding age has had. The Jesus who actually lived in Palestine had too frequently been obscured by metaphysical speculation. At the present time the person of Jesus is receiving more consideration because of his significance in human history and because of the moral and spiritual dynamic that his creative personality has released. The conviction of the ages still abides that in him God is found. In Jesus men see God incarnate in man; in him they also discover man as the ideal of humanity.

With this renewed interest in the person of Jesus Christ has come a deeper appreciation of the primacy of the ethical principles enunciated by the Nazarene, a more keen sense of the saving quality of the spiritual values he created, a profounder sense of his supreme revelation of God as the Father of love, and a greater willingness to accept him as the exemplar of life, the symbol of the true, the good, and the beautiful, the Saviour of man, and the hope of the world. The universality and permanence of his teaching make him "The Great Contemporary"; the perennial worth and dynamic of his person have kept alive the belief in an objective spiritual world as well as in the redemptive quality in Christianity itself. In him history and experience, the objective and the subjective, the human and the divine, the ideal of humanity and the "tendency to God" join hands. In him can be found the supreme synthesis of those forces in the world which are gradually building the Great Society of God, the consummation of the ages.

CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

Of the various strands that went into the making of American history the religious is by no means the least important, although it has been largely ignored or minimized by historians. In considering the religious aspect of this subject our present interest will be limited to the two-fold problem: what America has done to Christianity, and what Christianity has done for America. Out of the interplay of these two phenomena issues a new product—Americanized Christianity.

A. Significance of the European Background

It was of great significance for the future history of America that the discovery of the new material world by Columbus almost synchronized with the discovery of a new spiritual world by Luther. Had the earlier Norse discovery eventuated in permanent settlements, North America might well have duplicated the history of South America. In that case the whole Western hemisphere would have been Latinized and Catholicized. Or if the birds which Columbus is alleged to have followed had directed him northwest instead of southwest, the course of American history might have been different. Spain might have preempted the North American domain up to the Great Lakes. As a matter of actual history, European events cast their shadow before them in the making of America. Not only did the later permanent settlement period allow Protestantism to gain a strategic foothold upon the continent, but it gave the more democratic English and Dutch, instead of the absolutist Latin Catholic, ideas a chance to take root and grow. The later development also brought to large sections of the Western world a Catholicism that had been purged by the Roman revival of much of its mediæval narrowness and corruption. Since the early development of the Americas was to be so largely a transplantation of European culture and religion, it was well, from the standpoint of the New World, that this culture was the best that Europe had to offer. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, awakened by the Renaissance and vitalized by the Reformation, was better fitted for the stupendous creative experience than the lethargic, self-contained mediæval world of the eleventh century.

Moreover, the transplantation of Europe to America not only began that extremely potent modern phenomenon, the gradual Europeanization of the world, but it made possible the creation of new ideals in the unconventional atmosphere of a land not so closely bound to the leading strings of a standardizing tradition. In other words, Europe was offered an opportunity, on a scale hitherto impossible and under propitious conditions hitherto wanting, to generate new life and new forms for the enrichment of mankind. Under the control of numerous Indian tribes, America had traveled for untold ages along the well-worn paths of animistic religion and hunting and fishing and fighting, without much promise of higher development except among the ancient Aztecs in Mexico. In some countries the introduction of a higher culture resulted in a gradual amalgamation with the indigenous life. Here we meet the peculiar spectacle of the almost total displacement of the lower by the higher. Consequently, the achievements of centuries, the highest product of man's thinking and living, found congenial soil in which to create almost *de novo* something original and something better. For a time America was Europe's workshop or experiment station. That this was not all gain will be seen in the fruition of some of the lower ideals and customs that were introduced, and in the rapidity with which abnormal and dangerous tendencies developed. So far as church history is concerned, the general result must be registered as net gain.

B. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COLONIZATION

1. Spanish. Christianity came to this country in the form of a revived but narrow and intolerant Roman Catholicism of the Spanish type. The motives in exploration and colonization were mixed. They were adventure, greed, curiosity, and religion, and perhaps the least of these was religion. In nearly every expedition, it is true, was to be found priest or friar, and the ostensible motive often given was the evangelization of the natives, but that meant less in those buccaneering days than it would now. Within the bounds of the present United States missions were established in Florida, New Mexico, and California. Conversion was by coercion in too many instances, while authority was vested in a foreign hierarchy. After a brief period of phenomenal success under the leadership of heroic self-sacrificing missionaries, the work in each province collapsed: in Florida with the withdrawal of Spanish arms after the transfer of the territory to England; in Mexico after a disastrous native revolt; and in California through annexation to the United States and by a process of disintegration. The Achilles heel of the Spanish missions was reliance upon armed protection and upon distant foreign control combined with a paternalistic attitude toward Indians who were kept in a state of perennial tutelage.

2. French. The story of French Catholic missions

is replete with acts of heroic endeavor and selfless and patient toil, but the history of their rise, progress, and ultimate decay is much like that of the Spanish. Long before the Pilgrims landed, French explorers had penetrated the Saint Lawrence valley. With the founding of Quebec in 1608, a grandiose scheme of empire was evolved under the inspiration of men like La Salle and Champlain, which contemplated nothing less than the gradual secular and spiritual conquest of all North America. The Jesuits were the advance agents of this vast empire of New France and found it congenial to their tastes and principles to mix politics and religion. When the first stage of the project was realized with the establishment of missions and forts down the Ohio-Mississippi valleys, the grand dream vanished as in a mist.

Many causes have been assigned to explain this sudden collapse of an imperial design which was marvelous from any point of view. The French depended upon the Huron tribe of Indians as the pivotal center for their propagandist schemes. This tribe was virtually annihilated by the warlike Iroquois. The persistent opposition of the latter also proved ruinous to French plans. New France was inherently weak because of lack of men and women. It was too much an affair of trade, too little a concern of settlement. It was too slavishly tied up with the distant control of the home government. The readiness of the Jesuits to make fatal compromises for the sake of immediate gains brought ultimate disaster. Their instigation of at least some of the bloody Indian forays upon the English settlements brought opprobrium upon the whole movement. And, finally, the arbitrament of war not only punctured the bubble of French political aims but seriously affected the future of the missionary enterprise. After the Seven Years' War, during which, according to Pitt, America was conquered in Germany,[1] the French Catholic Church stepped almost completely out of American affairs except in eastern Canada, among the Indians of Maine, and some Western regions. The results, according to the Catholic writer, Bishop O'Gorman,[2] were strangely meager and evanescent when contrasted with the enormous expenditure of wealth, sacrifice, energy, and brains.

3. English. The colonizing efforts of the English and related groups in the central portion of the country in time formed a wedge sufficiently powerful to pry loose the tenuous holds that Spain and France had in the South and the North respectively. The motives behind most of these colonizing ventures were as varied as the Spanish and the French. Virginia, founded in 1607, was little interested in religion and for a long period following suffered from inadequate church supervision. The lack of episcopal oversight, the poor quality of many of the clergy sent over, the failure to train a strong native ministry, the presence of the free and easy Cavalier settler, and the influences of plantation life, reacted against the growth of a vigorous church life. Similar results obtained in Maryland, in the Carolinas, and in Georgia. The introduction of slavery in 1619 aggravated the situation.

The Pilgrims, who came in 1620, came with a more intensely religious motive and were independent of the State Church of England. They were so independent that an Anglican of the last generation would fain have had Plymouth Rock land upon the Pilgrims. The larger Massachusetts Bay colony established in near-by Boston and vicinity, although originally of the Puritan variety, soon surrendered to this spirit of independence and accepted the Congregational type of church polity. These refugees from intolerant England were not quite prepared to allow religious liberty. In fact, anyone who could not subscribe to the principles which regulated the colony was summarily banished. Roger Williams, who criticized both church and civil government and advocated full religious liberty, was banished and became the founder of the colony of Rhode Island, which soon became the hotbed of diverse religious opinions. Williams became the father of the Baptist movement in America and the protagonist of the separation of church and state. The charter which was obtained in 1647 contained the first legal declaration of liberty of conscience adopted in America.

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[1] France was fighting England on German soil as well as in America.

[2] *The Roman Catholic Church in the United States,* p. 186.

Other English colonies of special importance were Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Thomas Hooker, pastor and statesman, the father of American democracy, helped to create a government by a written constitution which made Connecticut a republic (1639). Maryland was originally a Catholic colony allowing freedom of worship to attract colonists. When the Protestants gained control, the Catholics were disfranchised. The early record of the neighboring colony under William Penn's wise guidance shone in comparison. Not only were all religious views tolerated (Christians alone had the franchise) but the just treatment of the Indians was in marked contrast to that meted out to them by others. Of Penn's treaty with his red-skinned friends it has been said, "It was the only treaty never sworn to and the only one never broken." The mild policy of the Quaker colony attracted refugees from many lands and made it a veritable haven for persecuted religious sects. The story of Georgia under General Oglethorpe reads much like that of Pennsylvania. It was even more progressive in its treatment of the down-trodden debtor class and in its prohibition of rum and slavery.

4. Other Nations. When the Dutch bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for $24, they little realized the importance it would attain. Before it was taken by the English in 1664 and named New York, the Dutch here and elsewhere had introduced the principle of federal union and their thoroughgoing Calvinism. We owe to them not merely the emphasis upon Santa Claus, colored eggs for Easter, but the principle of representative democracy, voting by ballot, and the limitation of the ruler's authority in matters of war and peace. Other national strains which enriched the land were the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware, the German Lutherans and German Reformed in Penn's colony, the French Huguenots in the south, and the Scotch-Irish in the midlands. Some of these came because, as with the Puritans, severe persecution at home had made life unbearable. Others were driven by economic necessity or by the spirit of adventure.

5. Religious Conditions. In harmony with Old World ideals miniature state churches were established in some of the colonies of the New World. Conformity to and support of these were demanded by law in these colonies. In Massachusetts religious freedom was not legally attained until 1834, although the federal constitution had earlier prohibited the establishment of a state church. Throughout the colonial period the Episcopal Church had the chief material advantages because of governmental support. The Revolution swept these away and left merely a ghost of its former prestige. The Congregational churches lorded it over New England ecclesiastically and over a wider area intellectually. The Baptists, fewer in number though stronger in the demand for religious liberty, were found in Rhode Island and the middle country, where also Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, Mennonites, and Presbyterians were most numerous. The Methodists did not

appear until 1766, when New York and Maryland became the arena of their activities. Though late upon the scene, this church gradually outstripped the others in membership.

Colonial America duplicated the religious situation in England by stressing authority as vested in an established church, while a growing fringe of small sects emphasized dissent or nonconformity. The future of this country was with the latter, though up to the Revolution they suffered systematic persecution and repression at the hands of the state-supported churches. State churches of Europe had been partly responsible for the emigration of nonconforming sects to America. As a result of much agitation and some bitter strife, these denominations presented to Europe the picture of a large area where diverse groups found it possible not only to live peacefully side by side but frequently to co-operate in the most friendly manner.

C. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER

1. The Frontier. For a hundred years or more America was a country of an expanding frontier. From the Revolution to about the third decade of the following century the frontier extended from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi, and then over the prairies and mountains to the Pacific. Migrations began after the French menace had been removed and after the gaining of independence had brought vast territories into the hands of the colonies. The same motives that had lured men and women across the sea now drew their descendants irresistibly to the new opportunities of the wild but beckoning West. The opening of the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787, the purchase of Louisiana Territory in 1803, and later additions brought an ever-increasing multitude to brave the dangers of locating anew on virgin soil, despite the hardships of

the journey, the loneliness of the new life, and the hostility of the Indian.

The development of the church in America has so largely been affected by the ever-expanding frontier that some knowledge of the nature of that influence is indispensable to the student. The reaction of each upon the other was not always uniform, it was more pronounced in the early than in the later period, but the results were sufficiently widespread to permit generalizations. Not only was the religious condition of the affected region molded, but the East received a stimulus in the assumption of added responsibilities. At the same time many sections suffered through the emigration westward of their inhabitants. In some cases whole congregations moved with their pastors. The life of the whole church was measurably influenced by the enormous task set before it. This modern "migration of nations," as native Americans and foreign immigrants made their homes farther and farther west, burdened the church with a commission that was almost as difficult to discharge as that which had confronted the Latin church during the Teutonic eruptions. In both cases the charge was nobly assumed.

2. Influence Upon the Indians. The Christian impact upon the frontier, in the first place, accrued to the advantage of "the vanishing American." Indians were not always treated justly; sometimes they were woefully mistreated and incited to acts of bloody revenge. But their plight might have been still worse had it not been for the mission work of Eliot, Megapolensis, the Moravians, and others. That success was meager at the best does not detract from the sacrificial spirit evinced by the missionaries, many of whom obtained the martyrs' crown. Nothing daunted the work went on, and with more prospects of success after reservation life began for the children of the forest and the plains.

3. Social and Political Influence. The greatest influence, however, was exerted upon the rapidly increasing pioneer population. From all accounts the widely scattered human beings in the Western wilds needed uplift of a social, moral, and a spiritual nature. In a social way the pioneer preacher or saddlebag man served as a bond of union as he visited the settlements and formed as best he could an organization out of the isolated units. In creating a consciousness of kind a social organism was gradually evolved, which, with its struggling churches, began to transform a region of Hell Necks or Devils Haunts into a self-respecting, law-abiding community. Not through the ordinary stated agencies of the church but by means of extraordinary instruments, such as traveling lay preachers, vast circuits, circulation of tracts, emotional preaching, and sensational revival meetings, was much of this transformation accomplished. The church must also be given some credit for the part it played in the political unification of the Western regions, in counteracting the disintegrating tendencies, and helping to furnish a bond of union without which a national consciousness could hardly have been created. As the Puritan parson played a commanding rôle in New England politics, so did his Southern and Western confreres, though to a less extent.

4. Education. As an educational factor the church stands pre-eminent. Soon after the founding of the Puritan colony in Massachusetts, Harvard College was established for the training of the clergy (1636). Yale was founded in 1701, while other schools and colleges came in due time in the middle tier of colonies. Popular education was not neglected, especially in New England, though in most sections it was a belated and haphazard affair. The educational centers of the new West were for the most part small fresh-water colleges which rose like mushrooms wher-

ever any particular denomination had obtained a footing. They met a distinct need despite their low standards. In the establishment of State universities the clergy sometimes took an active part, a Catholic priest and a Methodist preacher joining forces for the promotion of the University of Michigan. Before the creation of our present comprehensive secular educational system, church schools and ecclesiastical training agencies and literature laid the foundations. In their emphasis upon character building, they need no defense in an age which has too frequently substituted for it the acquisition of scientific knowledge. A sane combination of the two, fortunately, is being increasingly stressed.

5. Frontierization of the Church. When we consider the influence of the environment upon Christianity we may speak of the frontierization of the church. American Christianity is in no small degree a product of the frontier. As already noted, it gained through contact with life in the raw a distinctive note of aggressiveness and activity that made for rapid expansion. But the price paid for this process of geographical extension was a loss of spiritual intensiveness that can come only through severe mental and religious contemplation. In the attempt to spread effectively over a constantly retreating frontier, agencies of propaganda and promotion obscured other considerations for the time being. This explains the rise and marvelous growth of home missions, the consequent emphasis upon foreign missions, and the creation of numerous additional societies, leagues, clubs, and associations which were to supplement the regular work of the church. The conquest of the wilderness and the prairies was so difficult that the pioneers were compelled to become intensely practical and receptive to the adoption of new instruments. It is in the newer sections that a progressive spirit of this type is most pronounced.

In the realm of thought the result was just the opposite. People who are engaged in conquering nature and possessing a continent give little attention to intellectual problems. Traditional doctrine and ready-made solutions caused thought to become stationary and sometimes reactionary. The frontiersman usually looked askance upon a new mental approach. Lack of apprehension brought misunderstanding, then contempt, and finally hostility. In backward regions of to-day the assured results of modern science are usually discounted with an air of finality.

Individualism of a decided Protestant caste was another effect of the frontier spirit. Self-determination acted as a divisive factor in church life. A certain type of character, taught by the exigencies of a strenuous life to depend upon self, is apt to minimize dependence upon one denominational organization and to magnify the need of another of which he, perchance, is a charter member. The frontier and the rise of the new sects are thus related as cause and effect. That some of these new sects contributed worth-while elements to the sum total of American Christianity cannot obscure the fact that the divisive spirit of sectarianism they helped to generate often worked to a contrary purpose. One of these new groupings, strange to say, uttered its solemn protest against sectarianism by organizing a new sect,[3] illustrating in a significant way the manner in which individualism and sectarianism are related. On the other hand, the terrific needs of the vast inland empire indirectly fostered the cause of church union by forcing at least some denominations to co-operate. Where so often we find overlapping of interests, multiplication of needless church plants, and unchristian competition, the relief which the union of Congregational and Presbyterian forces brings is all the more welcome.

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[3] The Disciples of Christ.

For half a century (1801-1852) the Plan of Union allowed members of the respective communions to cooperate in the founding of new churches. The result was a minimum of duplication and the spread of Presbyterianism at the expense of its sister faith. It was a loss of denominational expansion so far as the Congregationalist Church was concerned, but who can doubt that Christianity gained! Along some such line of compromise and limitation of denominational sovereignty does the spirit of unity dwell. Other churches, like the Baptist and the Presbyterian, united temporarily with the Methodist in the peculiar evangelizing agency known as camp meetings. Conflicting opinions and separation of forces, however, soon dispelled the dream of union.

As a final frontier influence must be noted the promotion of an emotional type of religion that issued in revivalism. In some quarters, it is true, moral delinquency went hand in hand with a vociferous religious profession. Bishop Asbury, for instance, characterized a certain group as equally adept in talking religion and stealing horses. Although the periodic revivals helped to tone up the general moral situation, the inordinate stress upon the emotions also left room for frequent moral lapses. Where the emotional is stressed out of all proportion to the ethical and the rational, serious dangers are apt to arise. That we still have a measure of this type of religion, with its spasmodic revival outbursts, its often uncontrolled and fitful emotional explosions, is evidence of our frontier heritage.

D. The Significance of Revivalism

The chief propagating agent of American Protestantism has been revivalism. By revivalism is meant mass evangelism of a peculiarly strenuous type, periodic in its nature and excessively emotional in its appeal. The professional evangelist is often engaged to direct the work of the "saved" in reclaiming the "unsaved." "For almost two hundred years it is revivalism more than any other phenomenon that has supplied the landmarks in our religious history—the undulations, upheavals, points of departure, and lines of continuity.'"[4]

1. The Great Awakening. The Great Awakening was the first religious quickening that brought large accessions to the church. America as well as England experienced a slump in morals and religion after the downfall of the Puritan party (1660). Slavery, indentured servitude,[5] excessive drinking and gambling, the unsettling influences brought by the Arminian and Deistic protest against Calvinism, and, finally, the emphasis upon the prudential virtues incident to the material conquest of the country, led to a decline of religious enthusiasm. The prophet of the revival was the towering genius Jonathan Edwards, pastor at Northampton, whose perfervid preaching started the spiritual fire. The eloquent evangelist Whitefield ably seconded his efforts in numerous preaching tours in all the colonies. Despite the extravagances connected with their work, though less in evidence than with the hell-fire preaching of the Tennant brothers, the net results were unquestionably beneficial. Indian missions received a new impulse under the work of the apostolic saint David Brainerd; an immediate intensification of religious experience in the lives of multitudes increased church attendance; higher moral standards prevailed; a common bond of understanding and sympathy was created between churches; and education with its emphasis upon religion was fostered. Princeton, for instance, was founded (1746) by the revivalist or the "new side" group of the Presbyterians who

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[4] P. G. Mode, in *The Journal of Religion*, July, 1921, p. 337.

[5] Indentured servants were those who were bound for long terms of servitude, either voluntarily or involuntarily incurred. They were often treated like slaves.

had seceded from the other or "old side" section of the church.

2. The Great Revival. The Second or Great Revival (1796-1805) came after the effects of the first had been largely dissipated by causes which had made the first necessary. In addition came war and disintegration, economic distress and political bickering. Material expansion westward and skeptical tendencies inward loosened former ties, changed standards, and upset morals. This has been called the Dark Age of American Christianity. The first signs of a change came with the accession of Timothy Dwight to the presidency of Yale in 1795. Other places began to thrill with the pulsations of a new life, especially the trans-Alleghany region where the famous camp-meetings had their origin.

These meetings were so characteristic of American church life for generations, and so effective in the propagation of the gospel along the frontier, that even the secular historian cannot escape giving them notice. Their origin is veiled in obscurity. Sometime before the turn of the century they started in Kentucky as a spontaneous religious outburst. In this region the backwoods atmosphere and pioneer conditions stimulated interest in a sensational type of religion. Contributing causes were the following: the atmosphere of fear in which the communities and settlers lived; a theology which appealed to the fear instinct, which stressed human depravity with its natural goal, a horror of real hell, unless God's saving offer through the blood atonement was accepted; the stern, realistic messages of the pioneer preachers, hortatory and extempore, and amazingly effective; the natural desire of lonely people, who lived a monotonous life, for excitement, thrills, and social contacts; and the receptivity of untutored minds to the strange, the bizarre, and the abnormal.

After due notice was given, people came from great distances to the common meeting ground. Here they camped for almost a week with their attention directed solely to the one supreme question of personal religion. Meetings sometimes lasted all night, attended with confusion, uproar, and continual action, as three or four ministers preached simultaneously in different sections, while people shouted, prayed, sang, and gave themselves to or were unwillingly attacked by the strangest physical exercises. These assumed various forms, such as falling in a faint or agony "like men slain in battle," the "jerks," or violent shaking of one member or all parts of the body, rhythmic dancing, barking, jumping, and incoherent jargon. Phenomena like these in milder form have occurred in other ages and climes and can easily be explained by psychology, by the influence of heredity and environment, by the power of suggestion, and by physical exhaustion. However explained, they did not constitute the heart of the revival movement, which spread with less reliance upon the artificial and spectacular into many sections of the East. Neither were the extravagant accompaniments of the earlier camp meetings characteristic of the later gatherings. These became more restrained in their emotional appeal and, except in some localities and among some of the minor religious groups, gave increasing attention to Christian nurture and to the ethical and social aspects of the gospel.

After deductions are made for relapses, excesses, and reversions, the revival must be listed as a beneficial movement. Moral conditions improved, personal religious life was intensified, churches (Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian in particular) received large accessions and an increase of vital action, Sunday schools and midweek services were more widely introduced, the missionary impulse was strengthened and educational centers spiritualized. The Presbyterian Church suffered a schism in the withdrawal of the "New Light" supporters of the revival, while two new denominations, the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Disciples of Christ, owed their origin to the revival.

3. Later Revivals. The revival method and the evangelizing spirit had become so thoroughly ingrained in most of the churches that seasonal refreshings after periods of depression came to be the normal expectation. The War of 1812, doctrinal controversies, and the increasing shadow of the slavery menace, caused a temporary halt, but in the thirties the revival fires again glowed. One of the most remarkable, widespread, and quiet revivals was that of 1857-59 which began in the East and then through Charles G. Finney's energetic leadership spread throughout the Northern section of the country. Its interdenominational character proved of immense value in cementing the religious bonds of union as if in preparation for the defense of the American Union. The reconstruction period brought perhaps the greatest revivalists to the fore in the persons of Sam Jones and Dwight L. Moody. The latter, in particular, in his sane presentation and ethico-religious emphasis, came to be a real power in the making of a better America.

In later years through the work of professional and uneducated evangelists, there has been a recurrence to the more sensational methods of the early frontier days, and in numerous localities the regular succession of protracted meetings testify to the hold that the older methods still have upon the church despite a steady cultural advance and the introduction of religious educational methods. Methods may change, they are purely incidental; evangelism must remain since it represents Christianity in earnest. Thus to-day a revival of the old form of visitation evangelism has been a marked characteristic of many churches, while Christian nurture of children represented as born into the Kingdom is increasingly engaging the attention of the church.

The romantic period of the frontier is past; the dramatic period of mass revivalism is passing; the religious educational approach is increasingly in evidence, as culture spreads and life becomes urbanized. New social problems, complex and baffling, are daily arising for solution, brought to life largely by modern industrialism. In a sense the city has become our new frontier, semi-pagan industrial relations our new problem, and religious education a new saving agency. Keen students of human nature and ardent devotees of modern science are well aware that culture will not displace conversion or education.

CHAPTER XV

DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

COMPARED with Europe, American Christianity has not been productive of much creative thought. With respect to Christian activities the balance seems to swing to this side of the Atlantic.

A. AMERICAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

1. Calvinism. Calvinistic theology is the key which opens the door to the study of early American thought, because development and change usually took the form of defense of or protest against this system. Introduced by the Pilgrim Fathers, it started on its momentous mission when the sterner Puritans took it in hand to fashion for America the rigid code of its thinking. This trend was strengthened by the influx of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians into the middle and southern sections of the country. Thus intrenched Calvinism gave promise of controlling the thought of America. It was definite, logical, based upon an inerrant Bible, and ably presented by its exponents, many of whom had received university training in England. God was Sovereign and absolute, in whose hands man was a mere instrument. The elect only were saved through the imputation of Christ's righteousness; the nonelect were damned to eternal hell. Making the will of the dread Sovereign of the Universe effective in the community devolved upon the Puritan, hence living with him was a serious affair and sometimes dangerous, as the persecuted Quakers and the Salem witches discovered. The latter were held to be demon-possessed and as such to be rooted out by the God-possessed. Fortu-

nately, the witch mania lasted for a brief period only (1688-1693), after which saner counsels prevailed.

This iron-clad Calvinistic system found its chief exponent as well as its first American modifier in Jonathan Edwards,[1] theologian and revivalist. Cotton Mather and others had prepared the ground for Edwards. In his chief work, *Magnalia Christi Americana,* Mather set forth a rigid Calvinism with its absolutist sovereign God, the revelation of his will in the infallible Scriptures, and the twofold destiny meted out to men by the inexorable divine decrees. Since human free will had been entirely lost through the Fall, man was as a dull instrument in the hands of Deity. In order to make this excellent system function more effectively Edwards began a systematic modification which was continued by his followers and later schools of thought. Out of the crucible of this thinking came a humanized Calvinism which made room for a God who was less arbitrary and for a man endowed with greater native powers.

Edwards the pitiless logician was also Edwards the warm-hearted mystic. This truly great man is to be remembered not for preaching his terribly impressive sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," but primarily for the heroic measures he adopted in stemming the tide of a barren Puritan legalism by recharging the orthodoxy of his day with mystical fervor and intellectual life. In his treatise on *The Nature of True Virtue,* for instance, he maintained that virtue consisted in the expression of disinterested love toward God and man. God is actually present in life working out his purpose of redemption but continually thwarted by the sin of man. Although each man is naturally free, his inclinations virtually determine all his actions. Determinism thus looms in the offing. In his treatise on original sin, however, he approaches the modern view of the social transmission of sin as an explanation of the universality of sin.

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[1] His deep interest in religious thought is shown in one of his conclusions reached when he was thirteen years old: "It follows from hence that those beings which have knowledge and consciousness are the Only Proper and Real and substantial beings, inasmuch as the being of other things is Only by these."

The promoters of this revivified theology traveled still farther from original Calvinism. Joseph Bellamy clearly held to universal atonement and to the suggestion that sin could be regarded as a means to the best good of the universe. Hopkins was still more influential. He approached Arminianism in his support of the doctrine of human free will, only to hide under the deterministic control of the sovereign God. He went further than Edwards in his rejection of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, while Edwards the younger virtually adopted the governmental theory of the atonement.

Three schools of thought built upon the foundation laid by Edwards the elder, that of Timothy Dwight, the Andover Progressive Orthodoxy, and the Oberlin theology. In his contention that the center of religion was to be found in the inner disposition of man Dwight reminds one much of Wesley, though this president of Yale still paid homage to Calvinism. Further modifications came with the two other schools at a later date, as we shall see.

2. Protest of Quaker Mysticism. Reaction against the iron-clad logical system of Calvinism came not merely from tendencies outside the church, such as skepticism and Deism, but also from tendencies and movements that were within the church, such as Unitarianism, Arminianism, and Quakerism. While the Puritans were going to seed on creed and doctrine, the Friends in England and America were stressing the immediate experience of God in the heart. The failure of the movement to remain true to its own peculiarities of thought and practice ought not to obscure the great prophetic message at its heart. A compassionate God of love vitally immanent in all life, with its corollary of the democracy of life, as

taught by the Friends, appeared to many as a relief from the doctrine of the utter transcendence of God and special election. The sanity of its group mysticism and the clarity of its social vision exemplified in its great prophets, Penn, John Woolman, and Whittier, served as a much-needed stimulus in American thought and life. William Penn raised statesmanship to its highest plane, shot through as it was with noble Christian idealism. Woolman did the same for common life, constantly magnifying the supreme worth of each individual, be he slave to an economic system or the exploited victim of a social custom. Whittier, with the heart of a crusader, the vision of a seer, and the emotions of a poet, set Quakerism to music. He has been called the world's "greatest hymn writer." As thoroughgoing a Friend as any is their present chief prophet, Rufus M. Jones, who finds it possible to do justice to those elements which this mystical movement has sometimes obscured or slighted, namely, the human, the symbolic, and the traditional. On the whole the Quaker mystic contribution was helpful in a land where that quality of thinking usually has been lacking. Minor pietistic groups of European origin and later native developments, such as Transcendentalism, New Thought, and Christian Science, also contributed to the mystic way. Orthodoxy, however, has usually regarded this mystic way with unconcealed suspicion because of its disparagement of the Bible and the church.

3. The Arminian Protest. Early American Arminianism was a non-mystical rationalist protest against the prevailing traditional theology. The leader of this "appeal to consciousness against a system of abstract logic" was Ethan Allen, of Ticonderoga fame. He ridiculed what he deemed a scarecrow belief in the mechanistic, arbitrary interferences of Deity, displacing it by the concept of an immanent Deity working in an orderly manner in this world. In the first stages of its development in America, Arminian-

ism thus lacked the mystical warmth and inwardness which Methodism gave it in England. Its exaggerated optimism and aristocratic leanings, combined with a rapid unsettling of the traditional faith which it obviously promoted, raised up in protest the ponderous intellect of Edwards, who felt that it lacked the distinctive religious note. Not until Methodism and other evangelical communions charged the movement with spiritual fire did it spread rapidly and perform a more constructive mission in the field of American religious life and thought. Its stress upon universal salvation and human freedom made a strong appeal to the liberty-loving American. A consequence of this stimulation was the gradual declension of Calvinism as the dominating system of religious thought.

4. The Reaction of Deism. The most vigorous onslaught upon traditionalism in America as well as in England was made by the imported English and French type of Deism slightly flavored to suit the American palate. At first it appeared as a constructive effort to establish greater harmony between religion, as reflected in the church and the Bible, and reason. In place of Deity as an occasional magical intervener Deism posited a God separate from the world yet governing it by immutable laws. Since no violation of this fixed order was possible, miracles were ruled out. The outlook upon life was more optimistic than the traditional representation. Man was an active free moral agent with infinite possibilities of growth leading to perfection.

Among the notable exponents of this system were Franklin, who espoused the gnostic notion of the necessity of intermediaries; Jefferson, who sought to combine the good from all sources in his eclectic philosophy; Washington, who accepted the general tenets without much ado; and Tom Paine, who popularized the system and gave it a decided impetus in his remarkably vivid but illogical and perverted presentation, *The Age of Reason.* Paine set out to present to the world the perfect system after the church had been exposed and its supernaturalism annihilated. This book gained an immense popularity, due to the wave of enthusiasm which followed his trenchant political pamphlets. It claimed to show the necessity of the correct use of reason in religion, the religious values of belief in one God, the future life of happiness, the equality of man, and the supreme authority of reason. Nature is regarded as God's sole method of revelation. Christ was a virtuous man, his death of no special value, his resurrection a myth. The Bible contains much that is fraudulent and valueless, the only parts of worth being the 19th Psalm and parts of Job.

The immediate effects were all that the author could have desired. As one writer suggests, the clergy attacked it, the colleges criticized it, and the people everywhere read it. The remote results produced tendencies that were disastrous to the type of morality and religion for which the book so frantically contended. Loose morals and atheism spread, infidelity became fashionable and the inevitable reaction came. Deism was too cold, formal, and negative. Ignored and despised religious emotionalism came back in a great rebound and struck it a decisive blow. More recent historical criticism has taken much of the force out of its former diatribes against untenable positions of Christianity.

5. Scotch-Irish Realism. The Scotch-Irish immigrants introduced a common sense type of thinking which upheld the orthodox faith against the encroachments of both skeptical materialism and fanciful, mystical idealism. The practical mind of America readily took to this approach which has been called the typical American philosophy. That explains its rapid extension to all parts of the country, with its headquarters at Princeton College under the virile leadership of President Witherspoon. In subsequent

generations it has served as a support of evangelistic propaganda and as a bulwark against liberalizing movements.

6. Unitarianism and Universalism. Calvinistic Congregationalism gave birth to a rationalistic reaction against traditional doctrinalism and the dominant ecclesiastical system. More potent than Deism, more logical than the old Socinianism, this Unitarian revolt in behalf of the One Supreme God of love and the natural worth and dignity of man gradually permeated all liberal thought. Arising in England and America during the eighteenth century, it found its prophetic voice in W. E. Channing in the early nineteenth century. The latter rose to champion the cause of liberalism, repudiating the name Unitarian which had been applied in derision to the progressive thinkers. The growing tension between the two factions finally came to a head in a real separation in 1820 and the formal organization of the Unitarian Association in 1825.

Channing was moderate, endowed with a kindly spirit, and a sincere seeker after a rational faith. His modifications pointed toward the acceptance of a divine-human book containing a progressive revelation; the unity, moral perfection, and love of God; the sinlessness and mediatorship of Jesus Christ; salvation by character and the self-direction of man with God's co-operating and illuminating influence; and the immortality of life. Because the old was modified and not repudiated, Channing made it possible for others to bridge the chasm which yawned between traditionalism and liberalism. It was Channing who prepared the way for Emerson and Transcendentalism.

Building upon Coleridge and German idealism, expounded by F. H. Hedge and others, Transcendentalism came to fruition through its great prophet, Emerson. While its pronounced individualism excluded all dependence upon authority, its mysticism opened the way for dependence upon religious intuition. Emerson's intuitional philosophy stressed the present immediate impingement of the Great Reality upon the soul to such a degree that it disparaged the historical revelation of God in Christ. Furthermore, the God who is constantly revealing was regarded in a pantheistic sense. Less mystical but more practical, Theodore Parker assumed such radical positions that even Unitarians repudiated him.

Calvinism needed the Unitarian check just as the latter stood in need of the inspirational mysticism of Transcendentalism. Though the "pale negations of Boston Unitarianism," its coldly intellectual presentation of Christianity, its lack of a real sense of the heinousness of sin and the consequent need of a vital redemptive faith were defects, which prevented the movement from spreading rapidly, they ought not to blind us to its contributions. It forced orthodoxy to clean house. It introduced a more wholesome view of God and man. Its emphasis upon the right of private judgment made for religious toleration. Its social consciousness gave it a prophetic message in a day when this was sadly needed. And its open-mindedness to all truth permitted a saner view to emerge in the strife between science and theology and in the historical approach to the Bible.

7. Bushnell's Contribution. After Edwards the greatest creative force in American theology was Horace Bushnell (d. 1876). He was as strongly anti-Calvinistic as Paine and as rational and open-minded as the Unitarians, but more responsive to the historical tradition and more appreciative of the deeply emotional nature of religion. By means of preaching and writing and through the noble-spirited life he led, he turned men away from dogma to seek satisfaction and security in experience, away from an arid rationalism to the living Christ, away from the mechanical views associated with theology to the natural and the human, away from dependence upon

external authorities to the divine authority within, the living spirit.

His chief interest to us lies in the attempted moralizing of the theory of the atonement and the revolutionary significance that his principle of Christian nurture had upon traditional evangelical theology. Rejecting all juridical conceptions and the dualism inherent in the notion that the divine and the human were alien to each other, he posited the essential oneness of God and humanity and thus laid the basis for his moral influence theory. In the sense that love is vicarious, Christ's life and suffering were vicarious. But God, the source of that love, needs not to be reconciled to us. In affirming an instrumental Trinity, known to us only through the historical process of God's revelation to man, he felt that he had escaped the danger of a doctrine of Tritheism.

Perhaps as an outgrowth of his own experience in a Christian home he was led to write *Christian Nurture,* which proposed the astounding principle, heretical for its day, that children may normally and quietly be brought up as Christians within the family circle without experiencing a revolutionary conversion.[2] This view did not deny the reality of the conversion experience but refuted the position of those who regarded it as normative. Many of the principles of religious education and some of the laws of child psychology were enunciated in this epoch-making book. His views on the world-order, the natural and the supernatural, the immanence of God and the centrality of Christ remind one of Schleiermacher.

Although regarded as a dangerous heretic and generally berated by the Calvinistic clergy, Bushnell may be said to have saved orthodoxy. He held many for religion to whom the traditional exposition was irksome.

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[2] His famous statement on p. 10, ed. 1861, reads: "That the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise."

8. Andover Progressive Orthodoxy. To meet the impact of modern science a reconstruction of theology was begun by the Andover Theological Seminary professors. The school was originally founded (1808) to preserve an orthodoxy threatened by Unitarianism. Its later task appeared to be a modification of that orthodoxy to meet the requirements of progressive thought, hence the term *Progressive Orthodoxy.*[3] The positions which created such a furore in their day were the following: (1) the theory of biblical inspiration must take cognizance of human as well as divine elements; (2) the possibility of a second probation; (3) the fact of progressive revelation;[4] (4) the universality of the atonement; (5) the necessity of relating the accepted findings of modern science to Christian revelation without doing violence to either.

These conceptions, now widely held, issued in a protracted heresy trial the outcome of which was the dismissal of all charges by the Superior Court of Massachusetts. The chief significance of this movement is its typical nature. Religious thought in America, as elsewhere, has sought to combine loyalty to the heart of the historic faith with a willingness to change its interpretation to meet changing needs and wider mental horizons.

9. The Social Gospel. Reinterpretation on a vast scale became imperative when the rapid expansion of the social sciences synchronized with the rise of the laboring man to prominence and power. Again men of thought and vision enlarged the meaning of the gospel message to include the new facts. Rauschenbusch, Gladden, and others, prophetic spirits who saw first and further than others, prepared the way

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[3] This was the title of a book written in 1892 by the editors of the *Andover Review.*

[4] The gist of this view can be seen in Dr. Egbert Smyth's contention in *The Andover Heresy,* p. 51, that doctrine can be taught only according to the best light God may vouchsafe each successive expounder of it.

for an advance in the application of the principles of Jesus Christ to society. This movement may be called an attempt to utilize in the spirit of Christ the material thrown up by the social sciences for the building of the kingdom of God. The critical temper, scientific mind, and an intelligent grasp of the facts alone are insufficient for the stupendous task. Individual religion by itself, though absolutely essential, has likewise demonstrated its inadequacy to solve the problem of the "sins of society." The Social Gospel gladly accepts the contributions of science without relinquishing its hold upon the fact that no permanent salvation is possible without the creation of a new spirit.

10. Pragmatism and the New Psychology. It is a far cry from Puritanism to Pragmatism, but the latter is just as distinctive of American thought as the former. From the time of William James (d. 1910), its chief promoter, its growth in the practical and materialistic soil of America has been phenomenal. Opposing all abstract absolutisms, *a priori* principles, and predetermined ends of the older systems, it revels in the concrete, dynamic, developing phenomena of life. Philosophy, or the lack of it according to the critics, came to function in the lives of men. That which worked, which bore results in actual life, was regarded as true.[5] Since human experience was the key to life, thought and action which promoted man's well-being were considered of primary worth.

The effect upon religion was momentous. Instead of God the Absolute, we have an instrumental Deity, or deified humanity. Salvation resolves itself into the establishment of right relations with one's fellow men, social idealism appears to take the place of historic Christianity. And since nothing is assured and the outcome depends upon man's efforts intelligently directed and feebly supported, perhaps, by a finite Deity, life is full of adventure, the spirit of romance is present, the thrill of achievement glorious. Despite the defects in this type of thinking—its anti-mystical and anti-metaphysical bias, its undisguised naturalism, its failure to see values other than the practical, its rose-water theory of sin, and its inadequate theory of God—it has nevertheless checked abstract metaphysical thinking in the interest of a practical, effective religious faith. To its credit it has stressed the possibility of making over this world through man's efforts. With religion finding its true center in experience, all legalism and doctrinalism are summarily cast out, though here also the utilitarian outlook fails to do justice to an idealism which sometimes functions when it is not leading "to satisfactory consequences."

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[5] To quote one writer, "Anything, everything are what they are experienced as."

In the field of psychology Christianity seems destined to face its supreme test. Two schools especially, behaviorism and psychoanalysis, in their extreme presentations appear to threaten the very foundations for which the historic church has given its life. Watson, the prophet of the former school, and Freud, the exponent of the latter, have become authorities to increasing numbers. In the one case psychology is nothing more than the study of physical stimuli and responses, and religion a mere series of acts which are called religious; in the other case the seat of life, the springs of action are placed down in the murky depths of the sub-conscious, where the sex-impulse lies hidden to influence every sphere of life, including religion. The first school is naturalistic, strenuously denying the fact of soul or even consciousness, the second accepts these but errs on the side of excessive subjectivity. It must be said, however, that other leading psychologists are modifying both behaviorism and psychoanalysis.

Moreover, where the former stresses conduct to the invigoration of the life of action, offering at least a partial explanation of the same, the latter often reveals the hidden springs of action and the complexes embedded deeply within, which, when suppressed or unexpressed, prevent a normal development of personality. For contributions such as these organized Christianity may be grateful. But her instincts are true when they refuse to resolve the soul into a mechanism and salvation into a sublimation of subconscious impulses.

11. Idealism. The best theoretical support of Christianity is some form of idealism. Such men as Josiah Royce and B. P. Bowne have made the Christian religion intellectually defensible and have contended valiantly against the theory of a mere instrumental Deity. The meaning and the unity of life are found in God who is the measure of all things. With Bowne in particular, personality is offered as the explanation of all. Man is an end in himself, a self-conscious, self-directing individual who finds his meaning and worth in the supreme creative personality, God. Since these systems of idealism are more abstract and more difficult to think through than Pragmatism, they have not been so popular in practical America as the latter. Increasing numbers are beginning to feel, however, that the easier solution is not necessarily the correct one.

B. THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM

Thought and action are related to each other as cause and effect. The nature of social reform, consequently, is contingent upon the forms which the thought life of a people assume. The practical nature of American thought as reflected primarily in "the typical American philosophy," Scotch-Irish Realism, and in Pragmatism, anticipated a corresponding revival in the realm of Christian activities.

1. The Early Period. In the early days the church was one of the chief factors in determining the social and political affairs of the commonwealth. Church

and state were closely united and each vitally influenced the other. The judgment of the Puritan parson in particular was often sought in matters of public interest. His sermons dealt with the vital social questions of the day. Sometimes his officious interference became obnoxious and socially detrimental, as in the matter of his support of the witchcraft delusion in Salem. On other occasions his steadying influence, during the Revolutionary War, for instance, was of inestimable value. One defect of this type of religion was its unconscious division of life into compartments in one of which religion ruled supreme. The other compartments were regarded as outside the sphere of religion's influence. Despite this defect, the influence of religion made itself felt in increasing measure and with a growing consciousness of the social problems which religion must help to solve.

Many problems arising from the brutalizing effects of the legal system, from the inhumanities of war, the harsh treatment of the criminal class, imprisonment for debt, disgraceful treatment of the Indian and the Negro, and the evil social effects of gambling, lottery, intemperance, and the like, did not receive adequate consideration by the churches in the colonial period, though individuals here and there responded to the needs of their fellow men. The Quakers, Free Baptists, and later the Unitarians stressed the humanitarian aspects of religion. Inability to see the social problem as a religious one, combined with the Puritan attitude that failure, misery, and distress resulted from individual sin or as a result of God's displeasure, prevented the larger communions from adopting measures of relief or instituting movements of reform.

2. Temperance. In the cause of temperance Quakers, Methodists, and other religious groups had created a mental atmosphere favorable to the work of the famous Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia,

who inaugurated a crusade for sobriety in which he interested the Presbyterian General Assembly. This happened in 1811. With the organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Prohibition party, and the Anti-Saloon League, all closely connected with and inspired by organized religion, rapid progress was made in the direction of the incorporation of national prohibition into the constitution.

3. Slavery. Negro slavery for a long period constituted a blot upon state and church alike. The conscience of the church seemed to be awake to the evil nature of the system, with Quakers and Mennonites leading the protest. The defection of some churches from the cause of abolition had its roots in the apparent necessity of the slave system to the economic welfare of the South, in its value as a training school and an evangelizing agency for the Negro slave, and in that type of theology which gave divine sanction to the subjection of one race by another. Many Christians in the North fought abolition and churches split upon the issue. Through the shedding of blood alone did the problem appear soluble. Although the history of the church sheds little luster upon humane progress so far as African slavery is concerned, the prophetic note was not lacking. Neither ought candid criticism to ignore the source whence came the inspiration. The Christian spirit assuredly was such a source, and rationalistic thought in its humanizing tendencies was another source.

4. Other Spheres. In other spheres American Christianity left its mark. Charity and philanthropic movements were given church support on a scale never before surpassed. Many organizations outside the church proper sprang up to minister in a Christian way to the "submerged tenth." Social settlements, institutional churches, and city missions are bringing new life and vigor to those who have had

few opportunities. With the increase in rural problems has come a saner and more diversified effort toward their solution. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association and kindred organizations, vindicating their claim to be the church in action for special groups, are reaching thousands not directly touched by the church.

The most significant advance in recent years lies in the field of curative and not remedial measures. Insofar as all problems are moral and religious at their center, the church through a number of social agencies is making a scientific study of these. Without religion, it was felt, no problem could hope to find adequate solution. Race relations are scrutinized from this angle and principles set forth which do justice to the human interests of all concerned. In the proximity and peaceful relations of the various racial strains in America, the world has an object lesson of the possible harmony of the races. The world of industry with its tremendous moral issues is being evaluated on the basis of its enrichment or debasement of personality. The affirmation is receiving wider acceptance that industry must serve and conserve human values. International relations have engaged the attention of Christian thinkers because paganization in that realm has worked untold evils upon mankind. For the first time in history man is beginning to hope that armed conflict between national groups may be abolished as it has already been abolished between individuals. The union of the love of law with the law of love brings state and church together in this cause in such a way as to insure the ultimate success of the outlawry of war.

C. AMERICAN TRAITS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The Americanization of Christianity has been both asset and liability. The greatest contribution to the church universal has been the principle of voluntarism involved in the appearance of a free church in a free state. A decided impetus was thus given to the equally great principle of religious toleration. This principle, however, with a number of other causes, allowed the growth of a large number of sects and bizarre religious groups. Strange cults and peculiar semi-religious organizations have flourished upon American soil.

Throughout most of its history in America the church has been evangelistic to the neglect of the wider cultural development of its devotees. Some groups have enlarged the scope of evangelism to include more than mere revivalism. Aggressiveness, activity, and expansion have been quite characteristic of the church at large, but again to the neglect of the life of contemplation. Since multitudes found little or no time for sustained thought they naïvely concluded that the thought of the fathers contained the essence of truth and doctrine which was to be accepted by their spiritual children without change or variation. Theological development has always lagged behind religious activities. Here we have, likewise, one of the main sources of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy.

Lay activities and lay movements have been prominent in the church because of the surrounding democratic atmosphere. A sturdy lay type of religion has developed which makes short shrift of clericalism. It is only within certain communions like the Catholic that the layman is still kept in a state of tutelage. The influence of the laity has made itself felt in the demand for greater co-operation between the churches. Many outstanding ministers have joined the movement for closer federation. The Interchurch World Movement of recent years was a notable if short-lived example. The spread of the practice of establishing community churches is another. Co-operation in times of stress and emergencies and united action on the part of many leading groups in the

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America reflect the growing spirit toward union.

Practical America, in short, has not offered many valuable contributions in the realm of creative Christian thought or in the quieter and more profound reaches of the inner mystical life of religion. Her contribution lay more distinctly in the teaching, which is verifiable in practice, that Christianity is a practicable religion, suited to the needs of our modern age, and to be supported, promoted, and spread on that score. Religious activity in its weakness as well as in its strength has been the characteristic Christian expression.

PART II

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS AND CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS

CHAPTER XVI

DEVELOPMENT IN CHURCH ORGANIZATION

SOME writers, like H. G. Wells, for example, feel that Christianity would have developed in much purer form had it remained a spiritual movement without organization. Could it have lived on in this disembodied state as a pervasive spiritual influence, as a creative dynamic of ideas and ideals, they think its leavening power in human society would have been much greater than it actually has been. But the question immediately arises: *Would* it have lived on in this formless fashion? In order to function in society as we know it, the spiritual movement was bound to assume certain forms, to embody itself in a definite concrete organization. Even Jesus organized his movement about a group, leaving it to that group, however, to find modes of expression. Although the form is necessary, it is not on that account to be considered primary, as Catholics and high-churchmen in general assume. And yet the view for which they contend, representing the church as the mystical body of Christ, contains a truth of a social nature to which individualistic Protestantism is often blind. Our conclusion reads therefore: organization was inevitable, it was necessary but not primary. The position of primacy must ever reside with the new life, the new spirit, of which Jesus Christ is the source.

A. APOSTOLIC ORGANIZATION

Concerning this subject we have little definite information. This lack probably explains why many denominations find their special forms of organization either definitely outlined or indefinitely suggested in the apostolic age. The claims of vested interests have kept the discussion in a heated atmosphere. Even Gibbon deplores the fact that the subject of ecclesiastical polity has been involved in a mist of passion and of prejudice.

According to a moderate Catholic view[1] the first community of the followers of Jesus was at Jerusalem, directed by the twelve apostles with Peter at the head. After the dispersion of the apostles, James assumed the leadership of the local church. The primitive ecclesiastical organization found in this church became in time the model for all later developments. The evidence is too meager, however, to support a view of such definiteness and simplicity. The first communities may have been organized in Galilee, and of none can a hierarchical organization be predicated.

All we can say is that Jesus did not contemplate the founding of an institution separate from Judaism, with its own officials or head distinct from those of the Jewish Church. The Lord's interest was first in the seed sown; first the jewel, then the casket. After the departure of the Master the disciples continued to worship in the Temple and to meet in the synagogues. They met at intervals to commemorate the life and death of Jesus and for purposes of edification and mutual encouragement. Those who had been the immediate disciples, the twelve apostles in particular, naturally assumed places of leadership. Of the existence of a priestly class as such we have no evidence. Christianity began as a lay movement.

Religious societies arose early in Gentile as well as in Jewish circles. Each society seemed to feel bound to the other by a certain bond of union, although each also probably considered itself complete in itself. The word *ecclesia* was adopted by Christians and was a happy stroke because it was a name familiar to the Gentiles. The *ecclesia,* or church, was soon conceived of as a visible community, having unity and authority. An external form expressing that inner feeling of unity, however, was not present. The unity was embodied, instead, in the oversight of the apostles and in the fact of a common heritage. There seemed to be no need of a legal constitution, for the Jewish synagogue likely served as a model for all single congregations, each of which was directed by the Spirit revealed by the apostles and divinely gifted teachers.

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[1] Louis Duchesne, in *The Early History of the Christian Church.*

1. First Officials. Aside from the Twelve we may early distinguish two general groups which divided authority between them; first, the charismatic leaders, called teachers, prophets, and apostles;[2] and, second, the office-bearers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The first group were the missionaries, promoters, and evangelists, who, because they were endowed with the prophetic gift and commissioned by the Spirit, exhorted and taught. They formed an itinerant lay ministry. With the spread of the church and development in organization this group was gradually displaced by one more localized and more responsive to the distinctive needs of each society. The earliest church manual, the *Didache,* or *The Teaching of the Twelve,* appearing probably in the early part of the second century, gives evidence of the transition. In Chapter XV, for instance, we read of "bishops and deacons, your honorable men, alongside of your prophets and teachers."

The first office-bearers to whom we have allusion in the New Testament are the deacons who were chosen to help the apostles (Phil. 1. 1) in the administration of charity,[3] and later in celebrating the Eucharist. When we consider the status of the presbyters and bishops we stand upon less firm ground. High-church groups in general contend for an original three-fold order; others uphold the theory of two distinct orders. Hatch,[4] followed by Harnack, believes that the presbyters were originally the elder brethren, and that the bishops were chosen from their number. All bishops, therefore, were presbyters, but all presbyters were not bishops. The presbyters formed an informal committee in managing the common affairs and were not at first office-bearers. Such were the deacons, however, and the bishops. The latter were stewards who either superintended the revenue of the congregation (Hatch) or superintended the arrangements for public worship (Harnack).

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[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 12. 28.

[3] In Acts 6. In this chapter they are not called deacons, however.

Other scholars, like Loofs and Lindsay, contend that "presbyters" and "bishops" were really interchangeable terms, the former used primarily where the Jewish, the latter where the Gentile influence predominated. Different groups of Christians probably had elders[5] at the head of affairs, established by the apostles or missionaries. We may thus conclude that colleges or groups of presbyter-bishops ruled the various individual churches (under the Twelve or under Saint Paul) having as assistants a number of deacons. Presbyter and bishop would thus be identical whenever they did appear upon the scene.[6]

2. Monarchical Episcopacy. The college of presbyter-bishops did not function long before changes were made which gradually elevated one of the group into a position of commanding authority. A commission form of government is unwieldy and its evolution into one with a directing personality at the head changed the collegiate into what is termed the monarchical episcopate. This arrangement confers the supreme power of a local church upon one man, who is the sole governing head (monarch). Effi-

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[4] In a notable contribution, *"The Organization of the Early Christian Church."*

[5] Probably taken from the constitution of the synagogue.

[6] Acts 20. 17; Tit. 1. 5, 7; Phil. 1. 1; 1 Tim. 3. 1, 8.

ciency in administration was gained. Responsibility was more definitely determined. Unity of belief could more easily be established, heresy more effectively countered. Further development into a diocesan and then into a metropolitan and finally into one universal bishop will be treated in the following chapter. Here it will be sufficient to trace the changes in organization due to the Old Catholic movement.

B. THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH

By the close of the first century the monarchical bishop had made his appearance. After the middle of the second century a most momentous change in the church was taking place, the completion of which was to end primitive Christianity with its simple organization, its various societies each complete in itself, and its freedom of thought, and establish the catholicized orthodox institution. The chief causes responsible for this revolutionary process are easily discernible.

1. Celebration of the Eucharist.[7] What had at first been a simple rite had become, partly through pagan influences, a sacrament efficacious in itself, to be administered only by one of a special sacerdotal class. He who alone had the right to celebrate the most sacred rite of the church soon embodied in his own person the sanctity of the rite. The bishop thus came to be regarded as a man of exceptional authority appointed by the Lord, without whose ministrations the church could not exist.

2. Unity of Teaching. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (martyred about 115), was the first exponent of the "divine right" of bishops, as he was the first to use the term *"Catholic Church."* He was the author of the fiction that the twelve apostles had appointed

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[7] Sohm, Rudolf, in *Outlines of Church History*, p. 36. "The development which was to result in the world-ruling and in the secularization of the Church of Christ, originated, strangely enough, in the celebration of the Eucharist."

bishops as their successors. In his great fight for doctrinal soundness and unity he exhorted Christians everywhere to be loyal and submissive to their bishops. The emphasis which he placed upon the bishop as the central figure of the church was reiterated by later writers in their struggles against heresy.

3. Conflict with Heresy. When the heretics (especially the Gnostics) claimed to be in possession of Christian truth, even the hidden teaching (mysteries) of the apostles, it became necessary for the church to strike back. This was done not merely by the proclamation of a standard of truth (the Rule of Faith), but by the establishment of an office (the episcopacy) which alone could determine and interpret true doctrine and saving faith. The dangers of heresy thus served to bolster up the most pretentious claims of the bishop, for, as Irenæus (200) suggested, the episcopate defended the church's creed and as a reward got possession of the church.

Further, when the bishop professed to be the only direct successor of the apostles, the only one who possessed the faculty of "spiritual generation," the idea of apostolic succession came to life. Thus it was possible to hand down the truth in all its pristine purity, untainted by error and heretical notions. Thus it was possible to belie the exalted claims of Gnosticism to a monopoly of apostolic teaching. In like manner the church as an institution was strengthened in its conflict with the prophetic claims of special prerogative voiced by Montanism. When the latter failed, the bishop rose to the occasion at the psychological moment and posed as the medium through which the Spirit guided the church.

C. THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

1. The Effect of Persecution. The value of a close organization became evident when the church was called upon to withstand persecution. When emper-

ors sought to destroy the church by destroying its leaders, they were foiled. The organization which was based upon an office lived on because it was not absolutely dependent upon the occasional officeholder. During this storm-and-stress period the people were constantly encouraged by their strong representative men, the bishops, who, in consequence, received the constantly growing reverence of the believer. In this case the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the episcopacy.

2. Constantine and the Church. The changed relation, which under the Emperor Constantine brought the persecuted church into a position of honor, had its effect upon organization, hastening the imperializing and the secularizing process. Increased public responsibilities were now heaped upon the bishops who, in many instances, became state officials. The clergy in general gained social prestige and exemption from burdensome taxation. The hierarchy became a more elaborate affair with numerous gradations, very influential in politics and society but quite subservient to the dictates of the emperor, despite the admonition of Bishop Hosius to Constantine that he should keep his hands off because God had intrusted the church to the bishops.

3. Influence of the Roman Governmental System. The holding of synods, where matters of great importance were discussed and decided, enhanced the power of the presiding officer, the bishop. Although presbyters at first attended as regular participants, their power and finally their voting privileges were curtailed. When local synods developed into provincial and then into general councils, episcopal authority was correspondingly increased. These changes were in part due to the influence of the contemporary Roman imperial and provincial systems. Important cities gave their prominence to the resident prelate; the metropolitan area he governed gave him the name "metropolitan." The development was

on this wise: When communities grew and individual churches were founded in and around a city, the bishop of that city assumed authority over these new foundations. Bishops were not appointed for each of these churches, but the lower ranks of officials were increased in number to meet the need of supervision. The parish presbyter or priest performed most of the simple parish work, thus freeing the bishop for the major affairs pertaining to the whole area. The ecclesiastical head of a great province, by the time of Cyprian (d. 258), autocratically lorded it over his lesser colleagues.

The Roman genius for organized government expressed itself primarily in the Romanized Christian leadership of outstanding men of action like Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory I. In their practical labors and, in the case of Cyprian and Augustine, their doctrinal treatises, they laid broad and deep foundations for the magnificent church edifice which, externally at least, impressed the masses with its splendor and power. Cyprian, as we have seen, set forth in classical form the doctrine of the apostolic succession and gave to the world the dogmatic conception of the church as a sacred ark outside of which no salvation was possible. The church was conceived by him as an empirical whole having its center eternally in the episcopacy. This view was accepted and extended by the greater Augustine, who in his identification of the visible church with the ideal kingdom of God gave the mediæval papacy a powerful lever with which to move and to thwart its ecclesiastical and secular foes.[8]

In summarizing the development thus far, we have seen the simple, free association of the primitive church become a priest-dominated, imperial Catholic Church with its rigid hierarchical constitution paralleling that of the Roman Empire, with which it finally comes to terms on a basis of equality and a division of spheres of labor and influence.

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[8] In his monumental work, *The City of God.*

D. Mediæval Organization

1. The East. The mediæval church of the East was in large part a continuation of the imperial ecclesiastical system, with the Patriarch of Constantinople gradually acquiring supreme jurisdiction. This was due to two causes: the importance of the city itself, the seat of government, and the elimination of rival claimants by the Mohammedan conquests. But the proximity of the emperor had its drawbacks. The latter frequently interfered in church affairs. In a strong man like Justinian, of the sixth century, we find the emperor acting in the capacity of a pope. Canon or church law was codified with civil law and both utilized in the regulation of the church. On the whole it became a stereotyped ecclesiasticism, with individuality seemingly suppressed, with sacramentalism in the ascendency, and unchanging sameness in doctrine and polity as the cherished ideal.

2. The West. In the West the development was different. Here the contact with the barbarian tribes, their laws and system of government, brought in a disturbing factor. And when the West became thoroughly feudalized the church experienced the same transformation. In this region monasticism was also far more influential and creative.

a. Teutonic Influence. Teutonic individualism, though eventually controlled by Rome's universalism, occasionally stirred up the spirit of local autonomy and the incipient national aspirations. Sectional interests, like those of England, France, and Spain, often thwarted the unifying efforts of Rome. That the latter won was due to a number of influences, not the least of which was the help which monasticism was able to offer the pope.[9] The constant friction between "state rights" and universal sovereignty had a tendency to keep each from stagnation, until papalism, like an ecclesiastical glacier, leveled all individualistic and sectional opposition into submission. Then came decay. In the juristic system of the church, Teutonic laws were incorporated with the earlier and more extensive Roman code. In the church system of the penitentials, especially, the Teutonic custom of commuting any crime committed by a money payment produced untoward results in the later scandals which became part of the sale of indulgences.

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[9] For the relationship between monasticism and the papacy see next chapter.

b. Influence of Scholasticism. Ideas and fictions at which we now smile dominated much of mediæval thought. The theological system of realism asserted that the visible church was only a copy of the real and perfect church which existed in the mind of God, but, being the earthly counterpart of the celestial institution, it constituted the sole channel of salvation and was an end in itself. The world, in fact, seemed to exist for the sake of the church; laymen for the sake of the priest. In this system the priest, whether monk, parish priest, bishop, or pope, belonged to a superior class, a class apart, because ordination had impressed upon him an indelible character. Endowed with this divine afflatus, the power of the priest was held to be as far above that of any layman as the divine church was above all merely secular institutions. The highest learning of the day, with irresistible logic and keen dialectic, supported these claims to special prerogative.

c. Conflict with the Empire. The organization of the church was modified by the long-drawn-out conflict with the state. According to the generally accepted theory, God had put mankind under two dominions—one spiritual, the other temporal. These two had definite spheres of influence, the spiritual guiding the temporal, the temporal protecting the spiritual. Trouble arose when spiritual guidance degenerated into temporal autocracy, and temporal protection became an attempt to control the church. Such a "state within a state," as the church was, including all western Europe within its jurisdiction, was bound to trespass upon the domain which the state considered to be its own. When the church entered into nearly all the realms of lay activity, refusing in the meantime to be bound by the laws of that realm, inflammable material was cast upon the fires of conflict. A few illustrations out of the pages of the feudalized church will clarify the complex relationships involved.

d. Feudalized Church Organization. As already indicated, the church was a temporal as well as a spiritual institution. Bishops became the temporal lords over their dioceses, abbots became powerful landholders, and the pope boasted that he was not only the spiritual head of the world but one of the greatest temporal princes of Europe. The elaborate hierarchy consisted of the following ranks: (1) The parish priest was at the base, the "key man," for no one could be higher than the priest. With him we may include the monk, also ordained. (2) Bishops and abbots came next, of about equal authority, though the former constantly sought to bring the latter under their control. (3) Under various names, such as archbishop, metropolitan, or primate, were those officials who lived in great urban centers, having charge of vast areas with suffragan bishops under them. (4) The College of Cardinals, composed of the highest prelates, appointed as such by the pope, were members of the papal court, attending to the major ecclesiastical problems or traveling on diplomatic missions. (5) Overtopping all was the pope, the spiritual and temporal head of the whole institution, which at this time was in fact a church-state. Besides these there were numerous other minor officials with specific duties. This state had its own laws and regulations covering nearly every relation of life, much of which to-day comes under civil jurisdiction, such as probate matters, questions of legitimacy, inheritance, wills, fulfillment of vows, rights of patronage, etc.

(1) The Feudal Grant. Land was the basis of the feudal system and the chief source of wealth. Of this the church-state possessed from one fifth to one half, nearly all of which was converted into feudal property under the feudal obligations and privileges of vassalage and immunity. Various states, following the example set by Charles Martel, maintained that all land, ecclesiastical as well as secular, owed definite fiscal obligation to the government. Some church land, however, escaped taxation and was then held to be in *mortmain* (dead hand). Frequently the lords of monasteries and episcopal sees found it to their interest to transfer the foundations they administered to some powerful ruler in return for protection. In only a few instances, however, did this become outright ownership. The church, under papal leadership, continually stressed the inalienable nature of ecclesiastical foundations. During the great investiture struggle the pope even demanded the abolishment of the lay-investiture of a prelate by a secular lord.[10]

Churches were sometimes handed over from one person to another, or figured in a trade, like any feudal property. Laymen who founded churches frequently reserved to themselves the right of administering the temporal concerns of such foundations. Sometimes tithes instead of land became feudal fiefs, one noble being granted half the tithes of a certain diocese for service rendered.

(2) Vassalage. In the relationship of vassalage peculiar situations arose: a diocese under a king, a monastery under a duke, a count under a bishop, a bishop under an abbot, etc. The register of one

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[10] See Hildebrand's policy, Chapter XVII.

count[11] shows him to have been the vassal of ten overlords, two of whom were archbishops, four of whom were bishops, and one a monastery. In similar relation to him were a number of subvassals, who in turn were subvassals of the count's overlords. When we add to this the fact that one person could be both duke and bishop or abbot, the involved nature of the system becomes apparent. Furthermore, bishops were for a long time engaged in the fruitless attempt to control the monastic foundations within their areas. The offensive and defensive alliance between pope and monastery, both exponents of internationalism, proved to be too strong for the decentralizing policy of the episcopacy.

(3) Immunity. In the third feudal relationship, that of immunity, the church was involved no less than in the other two. In this governmental sphere the church vassal was allowed certain privileges within his territory or excused from certain obligations which feudal law demanded. Thus in 1179 the emperor delegated sovereign rights to a bishop of Brixen which included the rights of toll, jurisdiction, mills, market, and coinage. Another bishop was authorized to arrest thieves in his area and under specified conditions to keep the booty for himself. The usual immunities were exemption from lay taxation, lay courts, and lay obligations, such as military service. Though bishops and abbots often employed laymen or clerks to take full charge of such secular duties as collecting taxes, presiding over civil courts, and leading troops in battle, they themselves were not averse, on occasion, to presenting a complete knightly appearance in actual warfare.

Although the church became feudalized, no feudal principle was incorporated as an integral part of the ecclesiastical system. Thus when feudalism disintegrated, the church lived on, not, however, without having made distinct contributions to the socio-economic system in the amelioration of the serf's condition, in the half-hearted attempt to prevent warfare, in the transformation of feudal relations, and the promotion of the principles of chivalry.

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[11] Count of Champagne, in J. H. Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, vol. i, p. 115.

E. THE REFORMATION CHURCHES

In the main, the Protestant changes in organization went in the direction of decentralization, away from papal absolutism and universalism. Nationalistic influences were very strong, carving out of the former church-state a number of state churches. This naturally led to the dominance of the state, especially in the "Landes kirchen" (territorial churches) of the Lutherans and the Anglican Church. Erastianism,[12] to use the technical term for state control of the church, came to be as detrimental to the advancement of the Kingdom as the former papal autocracy had been. Greater freedom from the domination of a priestly caste was likewise in evidence. The whole theory of the church was gradually revised in accordance with the Protestant principle of the priesthood of all believers, expressed in its purity, however, in only isolated instances. This introduction of lay influence and utilization of the lay element not only limited the power of the priest as the sole dispenser of sacramentarian grace, but brought into the church a democratizing factor of great potency. A brief consideration of the typical church organizations will further illustrate the changes that were effected.

1. Lutheran and Anglican. In England and the lands conquered by the Lutheran faith, state government regulated the ecclesiastical system, nominating the chief ecclesiastics and usually controlling the finances. Too often the church became an instrument of state, utilized for state purposes. High prelates acquiesced in this arrangement, sometimes con-

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[12] From Erastus, the expounder of the principle.

niving with the state in the enslavement of the church, sometimes using their power as state officials in promoting the church. In England the system remained hierarchical, much like the Catholic. In Germany a greater simplicity was present from the start, due to Luther's diatribes against the evils of the older system.

2. Calvinistic. Calvinism was more rigid, allowing for only one form of church polity, that which the Bible was alleged to have furnished as a type or model. Presbyterianism, with its pastors and teachers, its elders administering discipline and its deacons administering charity, found its local governing body in the session, the members of which were elected by the people. Representatives from these composed the presbytery which through its representatives formed the synod, all heading up in the General Assembly. In contrast to Lutheranism, both state control and clerical domination were generally less in evidence, though the Genevan theocracy, through its espionage and its strict regulation of the minutest details of life, represented a stern, blue-law ecclesiastical autocracy hardly less odious than its mediæval expression. Wherever Calvinism spread, a less rigorous form of this polity became the dominant type.

c. Congregational. Out of the Puritan revolution came a type which stressed the autonomy of each congregation. The real father of this type was Robert Brown (d. 1632), though Anabaptist influences can be discerned. Here we have the clearest expression of the priesthood of all believers and, we might add, of ecclesiastical democracy. Since church officers, not constituting a special caste, were elected by the people, they could be deposed by them. Contrary to the traditional view, the church was defined as the community of saints covenanting with God to worship according to the dictates of conscience. Its voluntary character was thus emphasized as well as its absolute independence of the state. Many Baptists, later the Disciples, and other denominations adopted this type of government, though the tendency in these churches is toward a more definite form of connectionalism.

d. Methodism. Despite the fact that the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century was a revival of religion and not of doctrine or polity, both of these interests were affected. In polity the trend was away from its primacy, away from the stress upon its traditional rigidity. The church became more clearly, not an end in itself, but an agency for the building up of the kingdom of God. Because of the machinery instituted by Wesley and his followers there was introduced into Protestantism a polity as effective, as elaborate, and as well articulated as the Roman Catholic. It is more elastic. Many gradations of rank obtain without the sacerdotal caste. The ever-ascending scale of authority from the smaller to the larger assemblies allows for an expression of democracy.

F. SUMMARY

The story of church organization from its simple beginnings to the ever-expanding and intricate ramifications of Catholicism, has been a history easily explained on the basis of environment, tradition, and the necessity of meeting the manifold needs of mankind. Agencies were frequently created to meet definite situations and then remained as so much dead weight to hamper the progress of religion. That any certain definite form is obligatory, because Scriptural, cannot be maintained. Any form so far as it succeeds and meets the need may be considered sacred. If it is hallowed with hoary tradition but does not function, it is not sacred. Modern tendencies which demand more freedom of expression and greater lay participation can be met only by changes in organization as well as in attitude which will relate themselves more vitally to the new spirit. Past experience would seem to show that one type of polity cannot be made determinative for all Christianity. It would also appear to undermine the contention of those who seek church unity embodied in one vast ecclesiastical organization. A union in spiritual endeavor, which is primary, may be possible in the midst of diversity of organizations, which is secondary.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

FROM the organizational point of view the most unique institution of the church is the papacy. For centuries it virtually constituted the church in the West, dominating both the ecclesiastical and the political spheres. The claim has been made that the most powerful man who ever lived, because of his almost absolute control of both these spheres, was not a haughty scion of some imperial dynasty, but Pope Innocent III. To such an institution we now direct our attention.

The Roman Catholic Church claims that the papacy was founded by Christ when he delegated all authority to Saint Peter and his successors. Although this embodies what is well called the supernatural argument for the papacy, it was and still is put forth in all good faith, and was believed by the West throughout the Middle Ages. To this theory we must apply ourselves before taking up the actual historical reasons for the rise and rapid extension of the institution.

A. PETRINE THEORY

The argument for the Roman Catholic concept of authority reads as follows: Our Lord appointed teachers whose message contained all the essentials of salvation. Authority resided in them, as Christ's *bona fide* representatives, an authority, consequently, that must be absolute and infallible, if false teaching which leads to damnation is to be avoided. From this it follows that salvation is to be found only in obedience to and acceptance of this divinely constituted authority.

Now, this authority was centered in Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome. Here we open the door to the heart of the argument which is contained in five propositions:

(1) Christ founded the church, an institution distinct from Judaism.

(2) Over this church he appointed Peter to be the sole head after his own departure.

(3) Peter went to Rome where he organized the Christian Church.

(4) He was the bishop of this church, according to one account, for a period of twenty-five years.

(5) This church, consequently, with Peter and his successors at the head, is the only true church; the popes, the divinely appointed successors of the first pope, Saint Peter, the sole infallible guardians of the "faith once for all delivered to the saints."

We shall have more to say presently about the historical causes which helped to create the papacy, but a critical analysis of the theory just outlined ought to show its vulnerable spots. The second point is supported by a number of Scripture passages, such as the famous "rock" passage (Matt. 16. 16-18), which may easily be interpreted differently. Let us grant that Peter was a leader, and that his name is often mentioned first. That does not make him sole, infallible head of the only true Catholic Church, which, by the way, did not exist in this period. That Peter was in Rome, at least for a short time, might be accepted as a fact, on the basis of a vast amount of legendary material but inconsiderable historical support, but again that does not make him the founder of the church at Rome, much less its first bishop. For substantial evidence points to the very early organization of a Christian group in Rome; and other facts refute the theory of an early episcopacy distinct from and above the presbyterial group. If this reasoning be true, the fifth point or conclusion of the theory collapses of its own weight.

In addition to these strictures we find that the whole theory rests upon the assumption that Christianity is essentially a corporation which dispenses correct doctrine for the salvation of men, rather than a way of life, moral and spiritual, which is to be lived. None the less wide belief in this theory justifies us in placing it first in our consideration of the historical rise of the papacy. The other facts, well substantiated, may now be scrutinized.

B. HISTORICAL BASES OF THE PAPACY

The bishop of Rome, as the office developed, gradually gained supremacy in the West because Rome was the only apostolic foundation in that vast region, unique also in the fact that Paul and Peter and, as it was alleged, John were all involved in that founding. The East, on the other hand, suffered in the internecine strife of a number of apostolic foundations, each jealous of the prerogatives claimed by the others. These apostolic sees in the East often found it convenient to appeal to the distant and supposedly neutral bishop of Rome, which the latter always construed to his own advantage. Did they not appeal to him, the successor of the chief of the apostles, because of his primacy? The consistent moderation of his position, usually true to the orthodoxy which won the field, naturally enhanced his prestige. The Eastern patriarchates were often involved in heresy.

The tale of three cities offers another explanation. Jerusalem fell in the year 70. Much of the hallowed sanctity attached to its name was transferred to that city providentially prepared, so it was alleged, to take its place. When Constantinople was founded in 330, with the transference of the imperial court to the East, the bishop of Rome was left increasingly free and unmolested to lord it over the West. To this must be added the genius for government which the Western see inherited from imperial Rome, supremely attested in her great bishops, who stood for unity, law, and authority in a time of turmoil. Thus when the Western Roman Empire finally expired, after protracted disintegration, a new Rome with a new emperor was prepared to carry on civilization and religion.

The support given to the Roman bishops' claims by word and deed on the part of outstanding authorities, such as Irenæus, Cyprian, and Augustine, cannot escape our notice, despite the fact that it was unconsciously given. The first named, a Greek theologian residing in the West, used the ambiguous phrase, a "more potent leadership," when referring to Rome. This he did, not in support of a Roman primacy of jurisdiction, but to keep heresy out of the church by magnifying the authority of the outstanding bishopric in the West which he thought represented the orthodox tradition. Cyprian sometimes wrote unguardedly about Rome's magnificent witness to the true faith in his strife against heretical baptism. And Augustine's monumental work, *The City of God,* played into the hands of Rome's pretensions by allowing the pope to utilize his identification of the visible church with the kingdom of God. That city of God on earth could not adequately function, he claimed, without a hierarchy culminating in him who was God's earthly vicegerent.

Even Mohammedanism assisted the pope in making actual his claims to overlordship. This was done as effectively as it was done unwittingly. One Eastern patriarchate after the other was submerged by the onrushing tidal wave of Islam, leaving only Constantinople free to contest the pope's title of supreme head of the church. The fall of the Eastern capital left Rome alone in the field, unconquered, adamant, the puissant protector of Christians everywhere who were threatened by the steady aggrandizement of the Muslim. As so often in the past, Rome could pose as the sole defender of the Christian faith, miraculously preserved by God for that purpose.

Perhaps the chief preservative agency of the papal institution was the stupendous task which the "fall of Rome" and the coming of the barbarians thrust upon her. The new Rome may not have been fully equal to the task; she may have fallen during the process from former positions of greater security and purity, but the fact is she confronted an undertaking which taxed her resources and powers to the uttermost. During this period, called the Dark Ages, the Eastern patriarch was resting supinely in a task completed, when not aroused by the last flickering embers of the almost extinguished Christological controversy. The church was secure, theology established, the neighboring provinces evangelized and civilized. How different the conditions in the West! Here the foundations of society were rocking; the former brilliance of the ancient culture was being buried beneath the crumbling edifice of empire; fierce barbarians were raging through the empire with fire and sword.

In the first place it must be noted that during these darkening ages the torch of civilization was threatened with extinction in the West. It was due to the papacy, assisted by its obedient servants, the monasteries, that this tragic outcome was averted. In the next place we must remember that the "migration of nations" populated the empire with ever-increasing groups that were steeped in paganism. The papacy set powerful missionary agencies at work to evangelize pagan barbarians and to reclaim those who had been won to the heretical Arian faith. In the third place the projection of the Teuton strain into Europe brought into play powerful disintegrating forces. Upon these disruptive tendencies the papacy superimposed the ancient Roman tradition of unity, uniformity, and universality. The wild sons of the northern forests were willing to be taught because the sight of the imposing and magnificent creations of the papacy caused them instinctively to feel their own inferiority. It was often with a spirit of awe, wonder, and admiration that they approached the portals of this mighty, efficient institution with its ramifications throughout the West. Whatever judgment is passed upon the papacy in other ages, during this period the student of history gladly pays his respects to the institution for civilizing, evangelizing, and unifying the barbarian tribes, so that they in turn could become the bearers of culture and religion.

C. THE MIDDLE AGES

A similar work was accomplished during the succeeding centuries though upon a less pretentious scale. The history of this period is largely the history of the church (the papacy) and its relation to the state and to the life of the times. The papacy had been set upon firm foundations by the first really great pope, Leo I (440-461), who was practically the ruler of the West, the most powerful man in the rapidly decaying empire. As an evidence of imperial dotage we note the easy conquest of Rome in 410 by the West-Goths. At the time, the Emperor Honorius, having received the message of the fall of Rome in his imperial city of Ravenna, was terribly shocked. Had he not fed Rome with his own hands that very morning! *Roma* was the name of his pet chicken. During the next crisis it was Pope Leo, not the emperor, who stood forth as the defender of the fatherland during the invasion of the terrible Huns after their defeat at Chalons (451) and the sack of Rome by the destructive Vandals (455).

1. Gregory I. Upon these foundations Gregory I (590-604), inspired by the grandiose conception from Augustine's mind of a visible City of God identified with the church institution, began to erect a super-

structure which was soon regarded as the church in essence. As Cyprian had earlier declared the episcopacy essential to the being of the church, so now the slogan ran, "No papacy, no church." In Gregory we have a good, sincere church official, embodying the finest expressions of Roman practical efficiency with Christian concern for the welfare of mankind. He was concerned with the extension of papal power though abhorring the title "bishop of bishops," because he felt the interests of the Kingdom demanded it. That was usually the feeling of the greater and better popes, only the most outstanding of whom can be mentioned in our brief sketch.

2. Nicholas I. In Nicholas I (858-867) the papacy championed outraged womanhood when the pope demanded that king Lothair of Lorraine take back his lawful wife. He stood for the democratic rights of lower church officials against their overbearing superiors in his reinstatement of a Frankish bishop deposed by the latter's superior, the powerful Hincmar of Rheims. There was to be no overlording except by the pope.

A peculiar document, known as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, was for the first time used on the occasion of this strife to bolster up the exclusive claims of the papacy. Its origin and its authors are veiled in obscurity. It contained numerous decrees of popes and councils, some of these plainly fictitious, forged for the purpose of filling the gap between the first so-called pope and Siricius of the fourth century, with whom the first authentic papal decretal begins. Rome, like nature, abhors a vacuum. Strenuously supporting the highest pretensions of the papacy, this document with another soon after used, called the Donation of Constantine,[1] was very effective when employed against opponents because for centuries no one believed them to be forgeries. A Catholic scholar and critic who lived in the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Valla, declared them to be spurious.

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[1] This document asserts that Constantine handed over the jurisdiction of the West to the pope on the establishment of the imperial seat in the East.

In the attempt to extend his authority over the Eastern Church the pope was less successful. In that large and important section of the church universal, the papal claims to primacy were usually met with a sharp and decisive denial. On this occasion the pope's choice for the office of patriarch was defeated, the successful incumbent, the learned Photius, severely condemning the former for his unlawful interference.

3. Degradation of the Papacy. No institution with a long history escapes pollution. The most sordid story connected with the papacy is perhaps that of the early tenth century, when the office was a playball in the hands of three infamous women. After a period of anarchy these women became so dominant in the affairs of the papacy that their rule has been termed a pornocracy. Out of this slough of degradation the institution was rescued by the appeal of a grandson of Marozia, one of the notorious harlots, to the German Emperor, Otto I. After the latter's prolonged work of attempted reform in Rome, the papacy again suffered a decided decline with only the short regime of the scholar, Silvester II (999-1103), to relieve the darkness of the picture. In the meantime help was coming from a quiet but rapidly extending reform in the monastic movement. This Cluny (cf. full discussion in Chapter XVIII) reform wave finally swept over the papacy, placing in the chair of Saint Peter its own product, Gregory VII. Previous to his reign graft and scandal had so seriously tarnished the papal name that the emperor, Henry III, felt constrained to come as a cleansing scourge to the synod of Sutri, where in 1046 he had two rival popes

deposed. A third suffered a like fate soon after, while a number of successive popes held their office by the emperor's sufferance. The reign of one of these popes, Leo IX (1049-1054), is significant because at its close occurred the definite break between East and West.

4. Hildebrand—Builder of the Papacy. It has been said that before the Renaissance everything reflected the spirit of Hildebrand (Gregory VII). After that time everything pointed toward Luther. Hildebrand and Luther were titanic, creative, architectonic, two master builders of history. Even now the conflict rages between the ideals for which they stood. The work of Gregory VII, in fact, is of such epoch-making importance that it demands more than a cursory glance.

Before Hildebrand's time the church was possessed with considerable temporal authority through the acquisition of vast tracts of land and the extension of feudal rights. This temporal power is based upon the donation of Pepin, king of the Franks, who handed over to the pope a conquered province, the so-called Exarchate of Ravenna. The crowning of the illustrious Charlemagne in 800 sanctioned this transaction, but carried in the shade of its innocent appearance much political dynamite. It led to the question: Who is to rule the West, the successor of Saint Peter or the successor of Charlemagne and Otto I? The attempt to answer that question covered several centuries and received its clearest expression in the ecclesio-political theories of Gregory VII.

Hildebrand was in part responsible for the creation of the electoral mechanism (1059), the College of Cardinals, which must be called a stroke of genius. The cardinals (from *cardo* meaning "hinge"), who had come into being before, were now organized into a group that should work automatically in the election of popes according to rule and independent of outside control. By this means local, factional, and foreign imperial interference was excluded.

Immediately taking up the loose strands of the old Cluniac revival on his accession to the papal chair in 1073, Gregory galvanized it into a living force. The general reformation of the church was attempted by two means, the prohibition of clerical marriage and the drive against ecclesiastical graft known as simony. Then he attempted to free the church entirely from state control, which led him to entertain the amazing vision of a papal dictatorship in the secular affairs of the nations.

a. Clerical Celibacy. Gregory had a number of good reasons for putting power into the old disregarded canon prohibiting clerical marriage. Such marriage in a feudalized church threatened the alienation of church property. It tended to create a priestly caste system where state control could not be denied. It ran counter to the supreme ideal of the age, the ascetic ideal of celibacy. Inasmuch as the monks had been the mainstay of the papacy, Gregory saw no reason why a celibate secular priesthood, dead to the world, might not become similarly effective in the extension of papal power. They were to become soldiers of a spiritual army, and to the austere pope "spiritual" meant that they were not to be fathers, husbands, and citizens like everyone else, but citizens of the "civitas Dei," bound by ties of absolute military obedience to their supreme commander, the pope. The breaking up of certain families[2] was a consideration of minor importance in comparison with the eternal interests of the church.

The papal campaign registered success in proportion to its nearness to Rome. Although strenuously opposed at the time, the asceticism of this pope won when the Council of Trent declared unequivocally for clerical celibacy.

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[2] A large number of priests were married.

b. Simony. The selling and buying of spiritual offices[8] honeycombed the whole ecclesiastical system with graft. The higher prelates reimbursed themselves after the purchase of office by selling out the minor offices, while secular princes sold the ecclesiastical foundations over which they had control. It was time, so the reforming pope declared, to enforce the canon law. In his usually thorough and drastic manner, through synodical acts and papal decrees, he condemned those "who bought and sold the gift of the Holy Ghost," proclaiming invalid sacraments which were performed by simonist prelates. Again only partial success crowned the efforts of the zealous reformer. Since the iniquitous practice was firmly embedded in the feudal system, it disappeared only after the latter completely lost its strangle-hold upon Europe.

c. Papal Dictatorship. The peculiar mental climate of the Middle Ages permitted the growth of the strangest offshoot of ecclesiasticism—the autocratic domination of both temporal and spiritual realms by the papacy. That the church was the sole channel for the transmission of grace, consequently, the sole agency of salvation, needed no proof. It was for that time one of the axioms of life. That secular powers were dependent upon this institution for salvation demonstrated their inherent inferiority. Moreover, the Lord had given Peter and his successors power over all the kingdoms of the world. That an immoral, wicked pope at times occupied the papal chair was in itself not half so worthy of condemnation as for any Christian to doubt that he was actually the successor of Peter, clad with all the prerogatives of the prince of the apostles himself.

While breathing this air of mediævalism, let us glance at a famous document of this period, the "Dictatus Papæ," which expresses Gregory's point of view. Although not written by him, its sentiment finds numerous echoes in his own writings. The chief statements read as follows:[4]

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[8] The word "simony" comes from Simon Magus, who sought to purchase a spiritual gift (Acts 8. 18-24).

2. The Roman Pontiff alone is properly called universal.
9. All princes should kiss the pope's feet only.
12. He can depose emperors.
19. He is not to be judged by anyone.
22. The Roman Church has never erred, nor will it err through all eternity.
27. The pope can absolve subjects from their allegiance to men who are wicked.

Such statements indicate that spiritual vision would suffer at the hands of political statecraft. To ascribe to Gregory, however, merely a selfish desire for personal or temporal aggrandizement would do injustice to this "Puritan breathing the atmosphere of Old Testament theocracy." Despite personal faults, his conception of the papacy embodied a noble vision of a new regenerated social order, patterned after the will of God. As God's representative the pope could not escape the terrible responsibility of his mission. At the last day he must render account of kings, princes, peasants, and serfs. Therefore, was he not responsible for the good behavior of all? Over the commonwealth of nations and principalities the pope was to preside to establish peace and unity, and thus, to conclude, in the words of a Catholic scholar, Hefele, "when all thrones of the earth should lean upon the Apostolic See, then, and then only, would justice, harmony, peace and unity reign throughout the world." This conception affects the Roman Catholic attitude toward the League of Nations in our own day.

That the audacious dreamer of dreams could not make his dream of world-wide papal empire come true was not due to his lack of sincerity or ability. Neither was it due to lack of support. Powerful support he had among the monks generally, among his vassals, the Normans in southern Italy, and among disaffected factions in Germany. It was due, rather, to that indefinable thing in history which we call the logic of events. Although Gregory employed excommunication,[5] which placed the guilty individual outside the pale of the saving church, and threatened with the interdict, which was directed against a whole principality, whose ruler proved obdurate, he failed.

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[4] Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gechichte des Papsttums*, p. 127.

The great struggle which Gregory inaugurated between papacy and empire has been discussed in a previous chapter.[6] Suffice it to say that after some initial success the sad, disillusioned, exhausted pope, defeated but still defiant, died as an exile in 1085. As a tribute to his unconquerable spirit we may note Napoleon's words, "If I were not Napoleon, I should like to have been Gregory VII."

5. The Papacy at Its Height. The Crusades (1095-1291) offered the popes new avenues for the expression of power of which they usually took full advantage. Other opportunities came with the outbreak of hostilities between secular princes who were eager to obtain the support of the influential and often powerful secular prince of Rome. The latter was not averse to acting as arbiter in such disputes, on occasion forcing his unwelcome mediatorial office upon the contestants. A worthy exponent of the papacy in these various capacities was Alexander III (1159-1181), who surpassed Gregory VII in outward success by his humiliation of the haughty emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and by the degrading penance he imposed upon Henry II of England because of the

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[5] The origin of this practice is found in the early church practice of bishops communicating with a new incumbent. The refusal to do so did not necessarily imply condemnation. Later, however, the practice developed of penalizing the individual so treated.

[6] See Chapter VI.

latter's alleged complicity in the murder of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

Not until the pontificate of the greatest of popes, Innocent III (1198-1216), did Hildebrand's grand scheme of a theocratic world-empire lodged in the papacy come to near realization. This humble, pious pope came nearer to being a universal dictator than any secular potentate, for he not only dominated the political sphere in a Napoleonic style, but he vindicated his claim to be the source of all spiritual authority. His imperial idea may be illustrated by the pyramid. The base represented the political and purely secular affairs of life. Above that, on a higher plane, abode the spiritual, including all the relations of the ecclesiastical system, and overtopping all, at the apex, the pope, virtually the God for this world.

Innocent interfered in the affairs of all nations. France felt his mighty hand, withering under the blight of the papal interdict, until her sovereign, Philip Augustus, obeyed the pope by taking back his abandoned wife. The empire received his attention in the excommunication of the emperor, Otto IV. The latter's deposition soon followed, an act which made way for the pope's own ward, the youthful Frederick II. England felt the brunt of his indignation and was granted absolution only after her base king, John, abjectly surrendered the whole realm on terms of vassalage to the papacy. Tribute was exacted, but the Great Charter of 1215 against which he thundered remained securely out of his reach.

In so many lands was his influence the controlling factor that he became the overlord of Europe, even recognized in the East where a Latin kingdom had been established by the Crusaders in 1204. As the custodian of true doctrine he instituted the holy crusades against the heretical Albigenses in southern France. To facilitate the purging of the church the terrible Inquisition was called into action. This was done at the important Fourth Lateran Council, held in Rome in 1215, where also the doctrine of transubstantiation was declared a dogma. The pope died the following year. Never again were men to see the papacy exhibit such power and resplendent glory.

6. Decline of the Papacy. Pride cometh before a fall. In Boniface VIII, the proudest of the popes, we can easily detect signs of deterioration. His reign (1294-1303) symbolizes both papal pride and papal impotence. In his famous bull *Unam sanctam,* against the king of France, who had crossed his will repeatedly, the pope actually demanded obedience to the Roman pontiff as essential to salvation. King Philip retaliated by imprisoning the pope, who died soon after, apparently from the mistreatment he was forced to endure.

a. The Babylonish Captivity (1309-1377). A further weakening of the papacy occurred in the removal of the papal court to Avignon on the border of France, in 1309, at the behest of the French king. The latter gained such effective control of the institution as to make it virtually a French affair. The papacy thus lost for the time being its universal character. During this long period of degradation, away from the logical center, Rome, the moral support of many Catholics was lost. Prominent men like the poet Dante, and the scholar Marsilius of Padua produced works which sought to limit papal autocracy by making it co-ordinate with secular authority. Absolutism as lodged in the papacy was further undermined by maladministration, excessive levies upon the church, increase in the annates[7] and reservations,[8] and a display of luxury and at times of immorality that led Petrarch to declare that the devil was shocked when he heard what was going on. The only constructive work done was a codification of the great canon law of the church.

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[7] Annates represented one year's income due the papacy from each new incumbent.

[8] Reservations referred to the numerous offices to which the pope alone had the right to appoint. The term "expectatives" came into use to designate the sums paid by prospects expecting the position.

b. The Great Schism (1378-1417). Further scandal and degradation came when the return of the pope to Rome led to the election of another who settled in Avignon. The Roman pope, Urban VI, had alienated a number of the cardinals, who readily found an excuse to annul the previous election. This spectacle of two spiritual heads of the church violated the fundamental doctrine of unity. Schism seemed a far greater evil than any amount of wickedness that might be found in one papal court. Unless we keep this in mind we cannot understand the nature of the cry that arose throughout Europe demanding that the schism be healed at all costs. Again, it was a question as to who was to administer the remedy. Thus, the problem of diagnosis and medicine was not so difficult as the choice of the doctor. Because the papacy had utterly failed, the suggestion was made and finally adopted that a general council alone was able to cope with the dangerous malady that was unquestionably threatening the life of the church.

c. The Conciliar Movement (1409-1449). We are here concerned with this great reform movement only in its relation to the papacy. The first council held at Pisa (1409-1410) awakened the church to a consciousness of its own existence, apart from the papacy, in the realization that it had the inherent right to remedy evils. The second and greater assembly, the first in a long series of European congresses, the Council of Constance (1414-1418), is forever memorable for establishing the doctrine that the general council was above the pope, that the latter was to regard himself not as the autocratic ruler, but as the servant of the church. By healing the schism (1417), after the removal of the three contending popes, the council solved the most acute problem that had faced the church. Old traditions and well-oiled grooves, however, soon enabled the new pope, Martin V, to re-establish papal supremacy. The third council, that of Basel (1431-1449), merely accentuated the movement in this direction by its radicalism and threat of a new schism. The pope, Eugenius IV, was further strengthened by his removal of a minority of this council, which at Florence, 1439, almost consummated a reunion with the Eastern Church. Although the spirit of nationalistic opposition to the primacy of the pope was fostered by the conciliar movement, its failure in other directions, notably that of curbing the absolutist claims of the chief primate, accrued to the advantage of the latter. Following Aquinas, Christian Europe seemed to be willing to accept anew, after its temporary debauch in democratic and conciliar heresies, the dictum that the church, one and visible, must have a head, one and visible, conceived to be the very embodiment of the church.

D. Papacy of the Reformation Era

Out of this comfortable position the "essence of the church" was rudely shaken by a slow-gathering protesting movement which claimed to be the essence of religion. The Protestant revolt checked the claims of these Italian princes, who were patronizing the Renaissance, dominating Italian politics, establishing a military regime, and yet, at the same time, posing as the lords spiritual of the church universal. The schism which followed this debacle in the church, splitting it in two, naturally brought permanent injury to the papacy. From this time on, half of Europe refused obedience to the Roman See, even though the latter shone with new splendor, after the purging of the Roman Revival, due to the Council of Trent and the energetic work of the Jesuits.

E. THE MODERN PERIOD

In more recent times we come in contact not only with a purer expression of the papal idea, but also with a narrowed, and, since the loss of temporal power, with a more spiritual manifestation. We do not meet any wicked popes after the Tridentine Council, a council which added new luster to the Roman name by centering the church eternally and essentially in Rome and its bishop, the pope. Avidly promoting this tendency, the Order of Jesus constituted itself the flying squadron of an extreme papalist policy, later known as Ultramontanism. This reactionary spirit has since been the controlling factor, despite a number of liberalizing movements to bring the institution, which is essentially mediæval, into some harmony with the modern outlook.

1. The Vatican Council. After a brief captivity under Napoleon, with the Jesuits reinstated in 1814,[9] the papacy entered new fields of conquest. The middle of the century saw the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary raised to the rank of dogma (1854). The pope had said to the virgin, "Thou art immaculate"; it now remained for the church to say to him, "Thou art infallible." After many preliminary skirmishes, skillfully engineered by the Jesuits, this goal was attained in the famous Vatican Council of 1870. Infallibility as lodged in the church, or Bible, episcopacy, or pope, had been frequently asserted. Its meaning so far as the papacy was concerned had not been officially defined. This was done after prolonged, stormy sessions, when the declaration was promulgated that His Holiness spoke with infallible authority when he spoke *ex cathedra*. Contrary to common opinion, such an utterance is in perfect harmony with the possibility of error associated with the ordinary papal utterances

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[9] The order had been suppressed in 1773.

and decrees. Only when the Vicar of Christ speaks as the supreme shepherd of the universal church, on matters of the most vital concern to the whole church (faith and morals), does the Holy Spirit endow him with infallibility. Papal absolutism celebrated its greatest victory at the time when temporal power was lost through the withdrawal of French troops from Rome, at the beginning of hostilities between France and Germany.

Fierce opposition to the dogma caused a schism, known as the Old Catholic, which claimed to be the true church in harmony with the ancient traditions. Too negative, lacking a positive redemptive message, and failing to make good its claim to a monopoly of traditional continuity, this movement never flourished, although promoted by outstanding German scholars. After Ultramontanism placed the crown of infallibility upon the papacy, the general council was legislated out of existence. Yet we listen in vain for an infallible pronouncement from the pope. Perhaps, as someone has suggested, the gun is so big that it would sink the ship if actually fired.

2. The Papacy of To-day. The successor of Pius IX (1846-78) was a truly great man, scholar, and statesman, Leo XIII (1878-1903), under whose efficient management the papacy made considerable advance. His pronouncements were sane on the whole, and filled with social vision, to cite only his remarkable encyclical on the labor question. To Protestantism and Modernism, however, he was as uncompromising as his predecessors. The outstanding event in the next pontificate, that of Pius X (1903-1914), was the separation of church and state in France in 1905, which has not yet received a satisfactory solution.

The rise of Modernism produced a serious rift in the church, which, from the reactionary point of view was successfully met by a series of repressive measures.[10] Pope Pius XI has given evidence of sane judgment in meeting the grave issues arising out of the World War. But his encyclical of 1928 maintains unchanged the old papal claims and attitudes toward those outside the Roman fold. On the basis of this document there can be no church unity, no real church in fact, except in unquestioned submission to the pope's authority.

An appraisal of a few words cannot do justice to an institution with such a checkered history of shame and glory. Arising in the West when the times needed a centralized authority it met the need, forever making the world its debtor. After this mission had been performed and Europe had become stabilized this instrument of service and salvation sought supreme autocratic power, ushering in a religious despotism unparalleled in the world's history. Before using the ax of criticism upon the mediæval papacy, however, its superiority to a secular military despotism, which would have taken its place, must be frankly conceded. That it still appears to meet a need in some quarters is shown by its present position in the Roman Catholic world.

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[10] Cf. Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GROWTH AND DECAY OF MONASTICISM

A. ORIGIN OF MONASTICISM

MONASTICISM, or the separated life, is older than Christianity. This peculiar institution found congenial surroundings among the Buddhists. We find traces of it in Egypt. There the climate and the desert made the appeal to live apart from one's fellows most alluring. The Essenes among the Jews belonged to this ascetic type. Without much stretch of the imagination their settlements might be called monastic. In some localities Christians could thus come into direct contact with those who lived the more quiet, secluded life of meditation and contemplation. Other causes, more far-reaching and profound, however, lay at the basis of this institution on Christian soil.

In the earlier days nearly all members of the church lived according to such strict rules, more or less apart so far as their relations with society were concerned, that no need was felt for any further emphasis in this direction. Tertullian even repudiates the charge that Christians would lend themselves to such a life. They were out in the world and not "like the Indian Brahmanists" who lived apart from others in the woods. Yet a century and a half later a movement began in the church which took an ever-increasing number from the customary church activities into out-of-the-way places of solitude. The causes for this change of attitude were complex, though natural and obvious.

The dualistic notion of a sharp separation between good and evil, the latter more or less inherent in matter, served to create a philosophy of life which readily lent itself to the promotion of an other-worldly frame of mind. Why take an interest in the body since body and spirit are mutually antagonistic? The material world with its manifestations was held to be the prolific source of all fleshly lusts. Getting rid of these soul-destroying temptations involved nothing less than a drastic suppression of the natural bodily instincts. These ideas filtered in through Oriental channels and through Greek philosophy, especially in its Neo-Platonic revival. Here we have a frame of mind which placed contemplation and ecstasy far above practical activity, the reality of the unseen world of ideas far above this phenomenal world, which was held to be a mere shadow, a nothing.

Domestic troubles predisposed many toward the solitary life, much as the World War gave some an opportunity to escape harrowing experiences of an unhappy married life. Others chafed under a growing rigidity of the ecclesiastical system that had already suppressed the second-century free spirits known as Montanists. The fourth-century enthusiasts did not wait to be suppressed but fled to the desert or to the hills. These early individualists, like the later Protestant reformers, felt that the heavy, standardizing hand of the ecclesiastical system would snuff out the bright flame of the spiritual. They reacted against the tendency which tied the attainment of salvation to the external rites of the church. An institution that does not find room for its free-lance, adventuring spirits is bound sooner or later to face an explosion. Thus in its first outburst the anti-ecclesiastical tendencies of monasticism made it a laymen's movement.

A positive support from Scripture was needed to make this more than a sporadic eruption. This was easily found after the ascetic ideal had been accepted. Certain statements of Jesus, Paul's injunctions about marriage, and other references were given an ascetic interpretation. After the period of persecution, ease and comfort had taken possession of the church, and many earnest souls sought for a sacrificial expression of their Christian faith denied them since martyrdom had passed. This superior sanctity appeared to be possible of attainment only in the pursuit of the extreme ascetic ideal. The longing for perfection implicit in this ideal, which was validated by Scripture, seemed to be the chief motive in creating and sustaining the desire for monasticism. That the majority were spiritually unable even to attempt such a high moral venture was freely acknowledged. Even as early as the *Didache* (about 120) the suggestion is made that those unable to "bear the whole yoke" should be satisfied with a lower degree of sanctity.[1]

B. Eastern Monasticism

1. Origin. One of the first definitely to attain to the higher degree of holiness was a disciple of Origen, Heracles by name, who founded an association of ascetics in the latter part of the third century. But the men more instrumental in launching the separated life movement were Anthony[2] (250-355?) representing the hermit type, and Pachomius, sponsoring the cenobite or group type. The former was a cheerful Christian soul. For a hermit he had a rather wholesome outlook, helping those who came to him, healing, teaching, and serving. He had a vision of a man more holy than he—a man, who was an ordinary physician in the city—but he could not be tempted from his own peculiar expression of holiness. Thus he lived to a ripe old age, an advocate of the simple life, eating sparingly, eschewing the bath because of

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[1] *Didache,* Chapter 6.

[2] A life of Saint Anthony is attributed to Athanasius.

his modesty, tempted by demons who assumed forms corresponding to the weakened state of mind of their victim. We know that the monks could not escape the demons of appetite and desire by removing their physical bodies to lonely places. They could not escape from themselves. Modern psychology can easily explain these conflicts while declaring at the same time that the better method involves not the arbitrary suppression of the natural instincts, but a rational control and guidance of the same into channels of service. Monks sometimes fell by the wayside largely because of their ignorance of the better method.

Despite his recognition of social values Anthony remained wedded to the anchorite[3] way of life. It remained for Pachomius (292-346) to transform the individualistic type of separated life into the group type. The hermits lived together in a single establishment and thus ceased to be hermits. Stated periods of worship, regulated dress and habits, simplicity of life and self-denial, represented the essential features of this first monastery (from the Greek *monos,* signifying a place where one can be alone) which was built in southern Egypt. From this monastic incubating region the institution spread rapidly throughout the East where the most extravagant forms found expression. The group life when well regulated made for a saner type, but occasional individuals found this irksome, dwelt apart in caves, in dried-up wells, on craggy heights, in the most inaccessible places, some living like animals, unclothed, eating grass and roots. One who was acclaimed a great saint lived for about thirty years on top of a pillar and for that reason was known as Saint Simeon of the Pillar (Stylites). Others found a life of squalor and filth, a willingness to endure the most nauseous experience or excruciating pain, to be especially conducive to holiness.

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[3] From the Greek, signifying one who withdraws apart.

2. The Rule of Basil. Eastern monasticism was saved, however, from presenting itself entirely in this its lunatic fringe by the noble work of Saint Basil (330-379), Bishop of Cæsarea (Cappadocia). His energetic, practical nature demanded a wholesome, utilitarian, and even social expression of the monk ideal. To this end he directed his thought. The result was a Rule which combined the practical considerations of work and service with those of the mystical and contemplative. That the East failed to live up to this harmonious welding of the individualistic and the social was due more to the atmosphere of a decaying later age than to any weakness in Basil's original objective. To this day his Rule is authoritative in the Eastern Church, modified, it must be said, in the direction of a less sane expression of asceticism. The institution itself, though sitting in the seats of church government, lives, on the whole, separate and apart from life, claiming for its celibate monks a sanctity superior to that of the married clergy.

C. WESTERN MONASTICISM

Monasticism reached greater heights as well as deeper depths in its western development. The practical Western mind demanded more evidence of usefulness from this Eastern importation than did the more speculative Oriental mind. After its introduction into the West by Athanasius and its promotion by Jerome and Augustine, its diversified and unregulated forms found a real, substantial basis in the reforming work of the great Benedict of Nursia (480-543). His famous Benedictine Rule[4], first operated in the mother monastery at Monte Cassino, by its inherent worth, its superb expression of the Roman ideal of law, and through the support of the papacy, gradually triumphed over the other systems.[5] By the ninth century it was the sole western system which was recognized as authoritative.

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[4] Ayer, *Source Book,* pp. 631-644. In full in Thatcher and McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediæval History.*

1. The Regula of Benedict of Nursia. After pointing to the inadequacy of three varying types of the ascetic life, this Rule demonstrates the superiority of the fourth, the cenobite.[6] An elaborate daily program regulated every detail of life, suggested every item of routine, and gave directions for the best methods of worship. These were not extreme, however. Allowances were made for weaknesses in human nature, for the actual necessities of life, and for a well-balanced outlook, so far as that could be had in a monastery. Thus manual labor was to alternate with prayer. It was even taught that work was a phase of prayer, *"Laborare est orare."* Study was also stressed, libraries introduced, and a definite reading course outlined. Service to those in need outside the monastery made it often in fact as well as in theory "a school of the service of the Lord."

During the Dark Ages this institution like all the rest suffered deterioration. It seemed impossible to sustain permanently the lofty ideals of the founder. In the further history of this movement, we are prepared to expect recurrent periods of decline and revival. Natural causes, over which the institution had little control, together with the frailties common to mankind, prevented a perfect allegiance to the three great vows of the regulated life[7]—poverty, chastity, and obedience. The introduction of the practice of priestly ordination, begun in the West and adopted by the East, brought the institution more definitely under church control, and especially under episcopal supervision. Clerical consecration, however, failed to save monasticism from decay. The spread of the Benedictine Rule was, in fact, a revival which, with its comprehensive principles and a well-articulated system, promised permanent vitality and protection against atrophy and pollution.

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[5] Columbanus, an Irish missionary in Gaul and Italy, had organized monasticism under a definite rule, introducing likewise the practice of private lay confession.

[6] From two Greek words, meaning "common life."

[7] The monks were called "regular clergy" because they lived under a definite rule. The parish priest, in contrast, was called "secular," which intimated that he was "of the world."

2. Cluny. After a period of darkening shadows in church and state following the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, another revival was greatly needed. It came in the form of a quiet monastic attempt to clean its own house. In 910 at Cluny, France, a monastery was founded which became a second "Monte Cassino" to a host of others. But it differed from its prototype in its endeavor to promote ascetic religion by contagion rather than by regulation. Though advocating a stricter enforcement of the Benedictine Rule, the original program demanded no formation of a congregation of monasteries dependent upon the mother house. That this development took place a century later was due to the organizing genius of the abbot, Odilo (994-1048), who made all daughter foundations subject to the mother house at Cluny. The new policy created an international organization which made for unity, efficiency, and morale. With this introduction of the connectional system came an extension in the reformatory zeal of the movement. It sought to spiritualize, not merely the personal lives of monks, but the wider social relations of men. Thus a propaganda for peace called the "Truce of God" received its hearty support. Certain evils in the church, such as simony, clerical marriage, and lay investiture, were made special objects of attack.[8] On the whole this movement saved its own soul by losing its life in service. By the eleventh century the propaganda had become so effective that it won the active support of powerful individuals like Cardinal

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[8] Cf. Work of Hildebrand, chap. xvii.

Damiani, who, before his death in 1072, had won notable victories for the cause of Cluny in Italy. In Hildebrand the movement captured the papacy, with what results we have already seen.[9]

3. The Cistercian Revival. After accomplishing reforms of real worth this movement went the way of others. Decline set in because increased wealth brought luxury, and accumulating power led to secularization. The inroads of the wild Norsemen and the Crusades proved to be additional disturbing factors. Backslidden monasticism needed to be revived. It was done through the usual process—a renewed emphasis upon and a stricter enforcement of the old rules. Back to the original was the cry, to the original poverty and simplicity, the original emphasis upon chastity, the original obedience and humility. Although the new revival began with the founding of a monastery at Citeaux in 1098 by Robert, a nobleman of Champagne, it received its greatest impetus from Saint Bernard (1090-1153), one of the most remarkable men the church has ever had. The saint, prophet, crusader, Bernard of Clairvaux, became the noblest exponent of the Cistercians. Although abbot of Clairvaux, his influence was felt throughout the church; although a pronounced mystic, he entered into all the vital concerns of church and state. To an age of moral laxity in church and world, of increasing apathy toward things divine, Saint Bernard became God's spokesman. In his manifold activity as adviser of popes and kings, as father confessor to high and low, he revealed the moral grandeur of an Isaiah. His beautiful, mystical piety radiated streams of spiritual light and warmth to many whose lives were dark and cold. Intolerance toward minority opinion and censorship of thought that deviated from the accepted doctrine, which was the weakness of the new revival, was likewise reflected in him, its best ex-

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[9] *Op. cit.*

ponent. Witness his long strife with the free thinking Abelard.

An outstanding feature of the movement was its freedom from episcopal control and its correspondingly firm allegiance to the papacy. Allowing each Cistercian abbey more freedom of action than Cluny granted, it retained the connectional idea (1) by means of a strict adherence to a common usage, (2) a mild oversight exercised by the chief abbot at Citeaux, and (3) by an annual assembly at Citeaux of all the abbots.

4. Radical Reform. Much good work was done. The ideal as represented in the monk received a mighty stimulus, as the imitation of "apostolic poverty" was again seriously faced by a minority in a wealthy church, although the most outspoken mouthpiece of this extreme asceticism, Arnold of Brescia (?—1155), received the condemnation of both Bernard and Pope Hadrian IV. Arnold, iconoclast and insurgent, was cast out of the church by the pope, ostensibly because of his heresies, actually because of his attack upon the wealth, luxury, and temporal power of the church. Others followed in his footsteps, attempting to realize the ideals which the Cistercians were alleged to have forfeited through their never-failing support of the hierarchy which protected them. Among the most notable of these radicals was Peter of Bruys, who opposed most of the sacraments, ceremonies, and practices of the church, upholding a life of the most rigid asceticism. The work of this extreme radical wing of reform was taken up by other groups and sects of a decided heretical bent, such as the Cathari, whose work of protest and criticism has been considered in connection with the papacy.

5. The Friars. To meet these heretical preachers of asceticism the church was able to offer orthodox exponents of deep piety, apostolic simplicity, and poverty. The friars arose also to meet the needs of

a decaying monastic institution. This revival to which we now direct our attention is the most significant as well as the best expression monasticism in all its long history was able to produce.

a. The Franciscans. In the early years of the thirteenth, "the most wonderful of centuries," the mightiest of popes, dictator of empires and unchallenged primate of a wealthy and powerful church organization, admitted to audience a poor, bedraggled wanderer, little realizing that not he, but this humble pilgrim was carrying in his heart the promise of the future. Pope Innocent III was wise enough to see, however, after a little reflection, that this young Francis of Assisi might become a useful instrument in the hands of the church. The order of the Franciscans, therefore, received papal sanction. Saint Francis, the Christ of Italy,[10] the prophet of love, baptized John but called Francis, came from a wealthy family. He early engaged in business, his father's trade, when not given to hilarity and feasting. Even at this stage during moments of reflection his heart went out to the poor. After an experience in war, followed by a serious illness, his mind began to dwell upon spiritual things and the life of renunciation. He became a monk, despite his father's stormy protests. He turned his back on brilliant prospects in a world which worshiped material success. He became poor, wedded to his lady Poverty, given to service of the most menial sort, always humble, gracious, sweet-spirited, never domineering, proud, or Pharisaical. The age of chivalry never saw a knight enter upon his career with such perfect abandon, forsaking everything that might tie him to his former way of living, beginning his consecration in the most utterly selfless manner, naked, calling nothing his own, dedicated "as a Knight of

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[10] Sabatier has given us a graphic story of this man.

Christ" to the cause he had chosen as his life-work. And such a cause!

If monasticism had always expressed itself in the manner of him who became its greatest saint, it would have justified its existence. In the *Little Flowers* we read that his most passionate desire was to be like Christ, to live over again in the most literal sense the life of Jesus. Despite this exaggerated literalistic interpretation, there breathe forth from his speech and deeds the faith, hope, and love of the Christ. His graciousness of manner, his winsome attitude, his humility, unquenchable joy, love of nature and all living beings, have combined to make him one of the world's most potent forces. We can almost believe that the birds, as alleged, listened to his preaching, that people were healed as if by a miracle, and that he actually bore the stigmata of the Christ.

This exemplar of the Beatitudes, this prince of monks, lived for others. His saneness, social-mindedness, passion for service, saved him from fanaticism and bigotry, or even from abnormal asceticism. His friendship for the saintly Saint Clare, who became the Saint Francis of an order of nuns, will always stand as a refreshing example of noble relationship between man and woman. His radicalism was tempered by absolute obedience to the church. Who knows but that his method of saving by personal example was more effective than that of Arnold of Brescia? Although the church laid its hands upon the movement and threatened to crush the lofty ideal of the founder, his spirit walked abroad in the hearts of men and could not be quenched. This was especially true of the third order called the Tertiaries, founded by Saint Francis in order to give the common people the advantages of living a holy life without strict adherence to the monastic vows. Of them, on the contrary, was demanded a wholesome love of neighbor, the simple life of service, humility, harmlessness, pacifism, and mutual helpfulness. The significance of this innovation lay in the transference of the ideal of Christian perfection from the regular monks to the common people. To proclaim love as the supreme Christian ideal; to maintain that all, irrespective of station, ordination, or rank, might be expected to attain unto it; to assert that living after the manner of Jesus was essentially the way of salvation—was to transcend the double standard which this asceticism of the monastic institution had foisted upon the church. It was a momentous milestone in the direction of the great Reformation doctrine of the sacredness of all callings of life. Had the mediæval Catholic institution adopted this noble Tertian ideal with all its implications, the revolutionary schism of the sixteenth century might have been avoided.

b. The Dominicans. Francis symbolized religion as it expressed itself in the deepest emotions, the heart. Dominic (1170-1221), a Spanish theologian, with the sanction of the pope in 1216, founded an order of friars which laid greater emphasis upon the intellect in the service of religion. The objective at first was a campaign against the Albigensian heretics of southern France. Mendicancy was adopted, probably due to Franciscan influence. In harmony with the emphasis upon doctrinal soundness, preaching and teaching came to be considered the chief instruments in building the church and keeping it pure.

(1) The Inquisition. These Black Friars[11] and the Gray Friars (Franciscans) soon captured the universities, the former especially dedicating themselves to study, the eradication of false doctrine, and the suppression of heretics through the Inquisition. This terrible weapon of purification was at first used moderately with the intent of ferreting out heresy and punishing the offenders. Vindictiveness and

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[11] So called because of their garb.

cruelty, secrecy and confiscation of property, however, soon created an atmosphere of suspicion and greed that made havoc of Christian ethics. The Dominicans were given control of this dangerous instrument, after its inauguration by Pope Gregory IX in 1229 and its perfection by Pope Innocent IV in 1252. As early as 1215 Innocent III had permitted similar outrageous procedure against those who were guilty of the most heinous treason, treason against God, having in mind the Albigenses, against whom he inaugurated a holy crusade. Against the pope's wishes this degenerated into an unholy scramble of filthy lucre and selfish power, which led, indeed, to the destruction of this Catharistic mixture of the ancient Manichæan dualism, paganism, and Christianity. The signal success of crusade and inquisitorial espionage gave them a place in church administration that greatly retarded the spread of the religion of love and mercy.

In justice to the church and the Dominican order we must attempt to place ourselves in the doctrinal atmosphere of the times. Doctrine contrary to that of the church was regarded as treason against society, against life. Society, so they argued, had a right to eliminate, to root out, to destroy both teaching and teacher when these spread like poisonous gangrene in the living organism of church and state. To keep the organism in good health, operations performed by orthodox church surgeons were necessary when the spread of these cancerous fungous growths threatened to destroy the body upon which they had fastened. The principle of the ancient Hebrew was theirs—far better that one man perish than that a whole nation be destroyed. Torture of individuals was permissible. It was like extracting the infected tooth. And if the individual could be shown the error of his ways by the application of the rack and wheel, again "it is profitable for theè that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."[12]

That civil, and not ecclesiastical, authorities actually administered the death penalty, cannot wipe out the church's implication in the whole process. Neither can any amount of ingenious casuistry make proper defense of the iniquitous practices of secret espionage, cruel torture, anonymous accusations, the *autos-da-fe,*[13] indeterminate prison sentence, and capital punishment meted out for erroneous opinion and divergent belief. Some condoned the system as a necessary evil, many promoted it because of the lucrative spoils to be obtained by the confiscation of the heretic's property; all too few in the dominant orthodox group dared to brand it as a monstrous iniquity. Not until the Protestant Reformation permitted the creation of powerful minorities could sufficient public opinion be marshaled to counteract the dependence upon force which the Holy Office legitimized for the purpose of preserving doctrinal uniformity.

The results of this maladministration of justice, this travesty of trial, were of far-reaching import. A dead level of orthodoxy was maintained at the expense of liberty. A large number of heretics were done to death; the remainder driven more or less under cover. The cause of true religion, the religion of the Christ, received a decided check; the cause of ecclesiastical despotism a mighty impetus. Pontifical monarchy gave rise to an autocracy that eventually brought its own defeat in the crash of revolution and religious wars.

(2) Missionary Activity. It is a matter of relief to turn from this sordid story of fanaticism and cruelty to the missionary activities of the mendicants. With two other orders which were added to the men-

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[12] Matt. 5. 30.

[13] Public celebrations to witness the burning of heretics.

dicants, the Carmelites and the Augustinians, a vast propaganda of the faith was instituted which gradually covered all of western Europe and sections of Asia and Africa.[14] Until the rise of the Jesuits these orders not only monopolized foreign missionary activity but likewise dominated all the seats of learning. In times of stress and disaster, such as the terrible visitation of the Black Death (1347-49), they proved worthy of their great founders. The great foes of monasticism, power and wealth, they could not withstand. The ideals of mendicancy and poverty were swallowed up in the greed and venality of the conscienceless corporation. The "reformers" of the thirteenth century were themselves in great need of reform long before the Reformation. The protest of the so-called "spiritual" Franciscans was unavailing. Utterly incapable of self-reform, they succumbed to the lax spirit of the times. Weighed and found wanting in the great crisis, they were displaced in the sphere of leadership by the virile and aggressive Order of Jesus in the sixteenth century.

Monasticism had run its course and had served its mission. Though present in the Catholic world, Greek and Roman, and to a lesser degree in the Anglican, its peculiar ideal of self-renunciation and solitude has taken different forms. The Protestant movement, in principle at least, obliterated the distinction between sacred and secular, the acceptance of which had created the superior sanctity of the monk ideal of contemplation, solitude, and extreme renunciation.

D. Appraisal of Monasticism

When this institution is checked up in the ledger book of history a decided verdict one way or the other seems almost out of the question. As adverse criticisms we mention the evils introduced by the extreme, ascetic, world-fleeing spirit. It failed, in its earlier stages, courageously to attack the gigantic problems of evil in church and state. Its philosophy of life saw evil inherent in the physical, hence degradation of the body, false conceptions of marriage and family relationships, and the introduction into the church of a double standard of Christian morality. It surrendered many "spirituals," with the acquisition of wealth and power, to luxury, ease, selfishness, and venality, which in turn often increased private immorality and encouraged political corruption. The withdrawal of many of the choicest spirits from active participation in the solution of life's great problems was a loss in man power which the world could not spare. Some of these strictures do not apply to the later period when friars and Jesuits made definite contacts with the world, but enough remains to brand the institution itself and not merely the personnel as a liability, a retrograde step in the march of humanity, were this the whole story.

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[14] Raymond Lull, Franciscan monk, among the Saracens; Ascelin, Dominican, in Tartary.

The other chapter in the story places the institution, as far as its history in the West is concerned, in a different light. Insistence upon the spirit of self-denial in a world so apt to forget it was of incalculable value. Without some renunciation there can be no holiness. The direction of man's attention to more-than-human values, to a world beyond our ken, was equally necessary and productive of good. The rebuke administered to a church steeped in worldliness and basking in the sunshine of self-complacency was needful and not without results. In the midst of barbarism, ignorance, and chaos, the monasteries represented tiny oases of culture, civilization, and religion, upholding the dignity of common labor, disseminating knowledge of agriculture, draining swamps, promoting industries,[15] and inculcating discipline. The monastic schools for a time during the Dark Ages were the sole dispensers of knowledge in northern and western Europe, the chief custodians of ancient manuscripts, and the centers for the chronicling of past and contemporary events. To that turbulent age the monasteries ministered as hospitals, havens of refuge, and hotels. In time, with its network of institutions all over Europe, monasticism stood for internationalism as against the disintegrating tendencies of feudalism. Thus its social ideal, even though it was confined within the corporation, opened men's eyes to the possibility of toiling for more than mere personal gain, of devotion to a cause beyond the satisfaction of the senses. If to these contributions we add the self-denying missionary labors of monasticism, its value and its mission to the church and to the world, after all due allowances for demerit, will stand uncontested. Whether its peculiar religious emphasis is still needed in the life of to-day is a question into which it were futile to enter. That Protestants see some value in it is reflected in their adoption of seasons of quiet and places of retreat to stimulate the inner spiritual life.

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[15] Many monasteries were self-supporting economic units.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

IN the Acts of the Apostles[1] we read that those who were "scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word." Early in the next century Justin Martyr[2] claims "there is not a single race of men, . . . among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered through the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Maker of all things." The account of this territorial expansion of Christianity from the early days to the present is a continuation of the book of the Acts. It forms a story replete with heroic endeavor, mountain-removing faith, and ardent devotion.

A. EARLY EXPANSION

From the very beginning Christianity has provided a notable exhibition of what psychologists call the law of spread. "Beginning at Jerusalem" the message was carried to neighboring regions by the disciples as persecution scattered the original group. At Antioch they were first called "Christians." Gentiles became attracted in greater numbers as the Jews became increasingly hostile. Peter was perhaps the outstanding exponent of the new faith to the Jewish sections in Palestine and even Rome, if early tradition is reliable.[3] Other apostles are alleged to have visited distant lands, Britain in the West and India in the East. Legendary accounts also credit Saint Mark with the founding of the famous church at Alexandria. Much of this early expansion is so closely bound up with legend that definite conclusions on the basis of actual facts cannot be set forth. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Christian communities in widely scattered regions was due to the unsung labors of numerous unknown missionaries, the Saints Anonymi.

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[1] Acts 8. 4.
[2] *Dialogus cum Tryphone.*
[3] Cf. Chapter XVII.

1. Paul. When we meet Paul, the prince of missionaries, we tread upon firm historical ground. Remarkably well prepared by training in the best Jewish and Greek learning of the day, he was fitted by temperament, by his Roman citizenship, and by his humanistic sympathies to become the world-wide announcer of Christianity. In a number of missionary journeys faithfully related by the "beloved physician," the first historian of the infant church, Paul sought to plant the gospel message in the strategic centers of the Roman Empire. Asia Minor is evangelized, then the large cities of Greece, and, finally, Rome. That he visited Spain, as some assert, cannot be certainly maintained because of lack of evidence. Opposition of the Jews later compelled the abandonment of the plan of using the synagogue as the base of operations. But neither this momentary check nor the accusations of the Judaizing Christians could quench the ardor or stop the mission of the apostle to the Gentiles.

The teaching, the missionary labors, and above all, the contagious personality of Paul served to weld the scattered communities into a common church. After his martyr's death in Rome during the reign of Nero, others took up the task. To him, however, must be given the credit of creating out of the small Jewish group of Christ's followers a universal church transcending racial and national barriers. He was responsible for the continuation of the church as a religious communion outside of Judaism. Some scholars, consequently, think of him as the real founder of the church while acknowledging Jesus as the source of the new spiritual movement.

2. The Bond of Union. After the organization of the churches something was needed to keep them together. This was accomplished by means of correspondence and by the more or less systematic formulation of the doctrines of the faith. Devotion to and adoration of the Saviour Christ served as the most potent bond of fellowship. The adoption of Christianity seemed at first to establish a relationship akin to that between members of a family. After the early days, however, false prophets arose to take advantage of this spirit of hospitality and measures were adopted to forestall the "trafficking upon Christ."[4] Despite the abuses to which it led, the inculcation of the spirit that all were one in Christ, as Paul taught, promoted a real fraternity to which the slaves and the lower classes were especially attracted.

3. Early Results. For the first three hundred years Christianity spread rapidly so far as extent of territory was concerned. The permeation of Roman society by the Christian spirit was a slower process. The whole Roman Empire, or all lands in Asia, Africa, and Europe which bordered on the Mediterranean Sea, had been touched and penetrated by Christians when the empire itself became nominally Christian through the decision of Constantine early in the fourth century. Then began a more intensive interpenetration of the ancient world to which allusion has been made.[5] The church was more than ever regarded as one, having been forged into a close, compact organization by the persecutions of previous centuries.

As soon as outward victory had been achieved and external heresies and religious rivals had been rendered harmless, internal dissensions arose which presaged the ultimate schism between the eastern and the western sections.[6] When doctrinal cohesion seemed impossible of accomplishment, orthodoxy frittered away its energies in further speculative attempts or in quietistic mysticism. This statement characterizes in the main the situation as it obtained in the East. What was left of the missionary spirit found expression in the so-called off-shoots, such as the Arians and the Nestorians. The latter have given us a missionary history of the most romantic and aggressive sort. Although little is left to attest to the ancient greatness of the movement, its former extensive conquests in the Near and Far East bear witness to the missionary passion of its adherents. The Arian phase of missions will relate itself best to the history of the West.

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[4] *Didache*, 11, 12.
[5] See Chapter IV.

B. THE CONQUEST OF THE WEST

1. The Fall of Rome and the Teutonic Invasions. The expansion of the church in the West is of greater significance to us because of our intimate and vital contact with that section. While the Eastern Church, well established and thoroughly protected, was basking in the evening glow of an effete civilization, the West was suffering the horrors of barbarian invasions during the period that the Western Roman Empire was crumbling. That the church was confronted with the stupendous task of retrieving a dying civilization at the same time that she was forced to meet the terrific barbarian onslaught probably saved her from the greater disaster of stagnation. Rome fell, but the church arose upon the ruins to carry on. When the barbarians came with fire and sword, the church met them to save them from their own destructive tendencies. These two events or catastrophes—the fall of Rome and the Teutonic invasions—were of unique and supreme significance in the expansion of the church.

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[6] See Chapter XX.

Rome gradually disintegrated, because of many economic, political, social, and moral reasons, not the least of which was the gradual deterioration of the old Roman stock. No longer was the Eternal City able to keep back the successive human waves which beat against the crumbling walls of defense. On they rushed, these wild men from northern and eastern Europe, carrying destruction into the rich and sunny southlands. This destruction would have been much greater had not some of the tribes been led to adopt the Arian version of Christianity previous to their invasion of the empire.

2. Early Missions. In the vague and uncertain annals of that propaganda one name stands out preeminent. We know little about the means and the agencies which were instrumental in the winning of so many barbarians to Arian Christianity, but we do know that Ulfilas about the middle of the fourth century labored among the Goths, gave them a written language, and translated portions of the Bible. The Goths turned missionary and converted their kinsmen the East Goths. Other tribes adopted the same type of Christianity until it appeared that all would so decide. Had this come true western Europe would have exhibited a divided Christian Church, the one Catholic and Latin, the other Arian and Teutonic. This was avoided not only by the adroit handling of the situation by wise popes but primarily because of the fact that Clovis, the great chief of the Franks, decided for the orthodox faith (496). That tribe became dominant, "reconverted" the other tribes, and finally made an alliance with the papacy. Thus the otherwise unimportant decision of Clovis to accept the religion of his wife should he defeat his foes, led to the most momentous results.[7] Clovis remained a pagan at heart, but all western and northern Europe

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[7] We need not accept the fairy-tale version of the story that "the Alemanni turned their backs and began to flee" just when Clovis finished his lengthy plea to the new god for help.

was destined to become one in faith, and that of the orthodox type.

3. Methods. In the baptism of three thousand of his followers we have one of the first instances of wholesale conversion. This method was frequently used and easily abused. It is related that on one occasion the warrior host entered the stream for baptism while each kept the trusty right hand far out of the water. Religion must not interfere with sword play. Sometimes pagan shrines were utilized and pagan rites adopted in order to make easier the transition from one faith to the other. This policy of compromise was outwardly successful. Its success, unfortunately, hinged upon the introduction into the church of a vast amount of paganism. Occasionally force was employed when gentle persuasion or personal evangelism had failed. The converted Teutonic chiefs were particularly attracted to this method, though church officials, unfortunately, were not averse to its use when all else seemed to fail. The holy crusades against heretics illustrate the coercive method. The numerous wars of Charlemagne against the pagan Saxons which ended in their conversion and the campaigns of the Teutonic Knights against the Prussians are other instances.

The usual methods, however, were more peaceful and more in harmony with the purpose of the church. For a long period the papacy constituted the missionary headquarters while the monks formed the large and enterprising vanguard of the Christian advance movement. They were the bearers of the cross into the wildest and the most remote regions of Europe.

4. Irish Missions. By the fifth century Christianity had been introduced into Ireland, which, in turn, became a strong missionary center, orthodox and ascetic, but independent of the pope. This Irish or Keltic phase of the Christian movement had a notable history. Ardent and self-sacrificing in spirit, com-

bining learning with piety, Irish Christianity early brought Scotland under its benign influence. Here Columba established the church upon a firm basis. The pioneer of the Irish missionaries to the Continent was Columbanus, who, toward the close of the sixth century, evangelized a large part of Burgundy and Switzerland. As it spread it encroached increasingly upon the domains which owed allegiance to Rome. When the inevitable conflict came, Rome won because she, and not her rival, possessed weight of tradition and extensive organization. The Irish or Keltic church was gradually absorbed by its stronger rival.

5. England. Christianity first came to England in ways unknown to us, perhaps as early as the second century. This, the Keltic type to which reference has been made, received a severe baptism of blood which almost crushed it when the pagan Teutons began their invasion about the middle of the fifth century. Then came the Roman mission sent by Pope Gregory I. This mission, led by the missionary, Saint Augustine, landed in England in 597 and immediately began the task of winning the Teutonic tribes to the cause of Rome. The Keltic strain was not so easily won, because it felt that its type of Christianity was superior to that of the Roman. The latter, however, gained the decision of the famous council of Whitby in 664, which ultimately brought the British Isles under the Roman yoke.

6. Germany. The papal victory on the Continent was consummated by a missionary from England who, because of the significance of his work, has been called the "Apostle of Germany." Saint Boniface penetrated into the heart of pagan Germany, where he is said to have felled the sacred oak of the Teutons to the chagrin of pagan priests and the wonder of the people. Laboring indefatigably for the pope as well as for the church during the first half of the eighth century, he overcame the irregularities of the

Irish by insisting upon the uniform Roman practices. He became one of the chief instruments in the founding of the Germanic churches, state churches in a sense, but all integral parts of one Catholic church with its center in Rome.

Radiating from the monasteries which Boniface had founded, Christian influence spread to all neighboring regions up to the Saxon frontier. Here the work stopped as if confronting an impassable wall. Charlemagne completed the task by breaking down the wall. After a long series of bloody campaigns, he finally subdued the fierce Saxons by demanding on their part the acceptance of Christianity as the price of their incorporation into the empire. This conquest was nothing less than a bloody crusade and, in this instance, remarkably successful, for the Saxons throughout the Middle Ages remained ardent adherents of the Catholic faith.

7. Moravia and Neighboring Lands. In Moravia, south and east of Germany, Christianity received its first notable accession through the missionary labors of the brother-apostles Cyril and Methodius, who had already laid firm foundations for the church in Bulgaria. It is related that the second of the two brothers mentioned painted an awe-inspiring picture of the Last Judgment which completely won the king and his followers to the church. It was through the work of Cyril and Methodius that the tendencies toward the Greek type were checked and that the new national church became loosely attached to Rome. In Bohemia Christian forces were at first suppressed. The country was largely pagan until the tenth century, when Otto I, the German emperor, interfered politically and religiously in the affairs of the distracted country. Progress was slow, however, and not until the following century can Bohemia be said to have been thoroughly evangelized. In Servia politics and religion likewise went hand in hand in the initial evangelization of the country and later in its

final successful campaign for independence. Poland received the gospel message from Slavic missionaries during the ninth century, though here also political conquest by Otto the Great in the following century promoted religion and established Catholicism of the Roman type. About the same time Hungary heard of Christianity through missionaries from Constantinople, but its subsequent allegiance to the Roman Church followed as a matter of course through the ever-present pervasive influence of the Holy Roman Empire.

8. Scandinavia. The new religion seemed to have come first into the Scandinavian countries through the channel of commercial intercourse, then by way of political relations sustained with the imperial government. The apostle to the north was, however, a young monk, Anskar of Corbie, who on the solicitation of King Harold of Denmark essayed to lay firm foundations for the Christian cause. The work spread to Sweden in a peaceful manner, favored by the intimate connection between the two countries. By the middle of the twelfth century the pagan cults were virtually overcome in all parts of the land. Norway became Christian largely through the efforts of her rulers, of whom Olaf Trygveson (c. 1000) was the most remarkable. His fierce Viking spirit would brook no opposition. Though he never was more than a nominal Christian, his cruel and terribly effective methods of coercion persuaded a large section of the people to submit to baptism.

9. Prussia. The conversion of Prussia is perhaps the outstanding example of the militaristic method of propagating Christianity. After the destruction of the missions which had been established in the tenth century, a Cistercian monk by the name of Christian made a new beginning. This also was wiped out by the natives who were still pagan. Then Christian, belying his name, with the pope's sanction, founded the Knights of Prussia to lead a cru-

sade against his foes. Failing in battle, the famous order of the Teutonic Knights was enlisted to serve in a war of so-called Christian conquest. After many years of ruthless warfare, the hapless remnant of the native population accepted baptism and submission in place of the imminent total extermination of their race. The introduction of German immigrants and instruction by missionaries consolidated the gains for which the crusades had prepared the way.

10. The Balkans. In Bulgaria, Roumania, and neighboring regions we meet the usual story of penetration by influences coming from Constantinople. The success of Greek missions explains the more or less dominant jurisdiction wielded by the patriarch of the Eastern metropolis. With the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 the wings of that authority were naturally clipped. When the affected Balkan lands later gained their independence national churches arose in the various liberated states.

C. Russia

The story of the conversion of Russia is a complicated one and in parts vague and uncertain. The earliest reference that we have to Christianity concerns the Varangians, or the Rus of southern Russia, who had come in contact with and had accepted the Orthodox Greek faith in their commercial relations with Constantinople. Near the middle of the tenth century the church had gained a foothold in the prominent city of Kiev. Thus before the time of the Tsar Vladimir, who is often regarded as the inaugurator of the Christian movement in Russia, Christian influences were strong even among those of the royal household. The Tsar's own grandmother, the Princess Olga, had been an ardent devotee of the cross. The work of the great Russian monarch is significant, however, because of his introduction of Greek culture with the Greek hierarchy. Moscow later became the center of this new national church, with its bishop or patriarch owing merely nominal allegiance to Constantinople. When Peter the Great reorganized the church as well as the state in the seventeenth century, the Russian church entered upon its independent nationalistic career under the direction of the Holy Synod. For a time Russia could pose as the nominal ecclesiastical head of the Orthodox Church. Since the revolution of 1917, however, radical changes have occurred, with church and state in mutual conflict. The new political Bolshevik regime instituted severe measures of repression against the church, which had been closely identified with the hated Tsarist government. More recently the church has come to an understanding with the state which enables it to function within more limited areas. The two largest groups are the Orthodox with about sixty million, and the Synodical with approximately forty million adherents. A number of minor divisions with a sprinkling of Protestant communions constitute the remainder of the Christian population.

D. MISSIONS AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS

Christian missions in Mohammedan lands have never been numerous or signally successful. The Crusades were partly responsible for this failure. Protracted warfares engendered an atmosphere in which the spirit of missions could not thrive. Other causes may be found in the intolerant attitude common to both religions and in the fierce taunts that each hurled at the other for alleged corruption of the true monotheistic faith. In a few instances only were the clouds of mutual fear, suspicion, and hatred dispelled, as when Saint Francis and the saintly Louis, king of France, attempted to win the Mohammedans by moral suasion and the preaching of love. Raymond Lull made similar attempts toward the close of the century. Before his death in 1315, after extensive travels and intensive literary efforts, he proposed plans to establish educational centers in

Europe as feeders to the cause of missions, a harbinger of better methods to come.

E. GENERAL RESULTS

The irresistible march of the church from the small beginnings in Palestine into every nook and corner of the Mediterranean world, then on to the conquest of those European racial and national groups which were to carry on civilization in the West, is a marvelous record of enthusiasm, persistence, discipline, heroism, and resourcefulness. It demonstrated the presence of real vitality beneath an exterior that was often of the earth earthy. The moral superiority of Christianity over the cults of the ancient world and the pagan faiths of the Middle Ages is shown by the ease with which the latter were overcome. The "white Christ," when not darkened by dogma or obscured by ecclesiasticism, proved to be the spiritual magnet which attracted the noblest idealism of each age. The spirit and the life that resided in the heart of the movement, and not merely its external manifestation in dogma, creed, or polity, constitute the chief cause for the triumph of the church over paganism. According to the psychological "law of spread" this life multiplied through the channels of suggestion and imitation, imagination and emotion, until the so-called "law of impulsive social action" became effective in the conquest of whole communities, tribes or nations.

Other factors in the spread of Christianity, besides the life which was created in contact with the person of Christ, cannot be ignored. The historian Edward Gibbon, in his famous work, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,*[8] accounts for the triumph of the church by enumerating its elements of strength, such as its passionate zeal, its high ethical standards, its definite teaching about immortality, its use of alleged miraculous power, and its compact organization. In addition we may note its rare power of assimilation and its wonderful adaptability to the social mind of each age. While other institutions perished, the church lived on because it functioned, because it met in some measure the needs of the people even during periods of darkness and decay.

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[8] Chapters XV and XVI.

By conquering Europe Christianity became the religion of the Continent which was to become dominant in world affairs. Too frequently for the good of its inner truth, organized Christianity became identified with Western civilization. Its alliance with the latter tended to dim its spiritual vision and to dull its prophetic voice. Compared with the early centuries the tension between the world and the church was almost absent. The introduction of pagan elements permitted an easier transition from paganism to Christianity but at the loss of some Christian values. Conversion *en masse* was a method that promised the greatest immediate results with the least expenditure of energy and thought. The remote results often brought havoc. The rapid assimilation of warlike tribes who were inadequately trained in the meaning of the Christian religion produced a hybrid faith, which must be held partially responsible for the rank growth of superstition and bigotry within the confines of the mediæval Catholic Church.

F. Modern Missions

For the loss of vast territories in the south and east incurred by the Mohammedan invasions, the church was compensated by the discovery of a new world. The hold of the Moors upon Spain was relinquished in the year that Columbus discovered America. Henceforth expansion was to be on the continents beyond the seas. And to this noble work the Roman Catholic missionaries gave themselves with abandon long before the Protestant forces were set in motion.

1. **Roman Catholic Missions.** The first nations to conquer large areas of the New World were Catholic, hence their missionaries were the first to evangelize these sections. The inspiring history of the mediæval friars was theirs to feed upon, the fields were beckoning, while the marvelous missionary messages of the great Erasmus may have cast their spell upon the hearts of his readers. Parts of these messages read as if they were taken from some recent missionary address.

Whatever the true cause may have been, Protestantism seemed to have galvanized the older faith into new life. Emissaries of the pope followed the explorer and the trader in order to make new conquests for the church, and thus offset the great losses sustained by the Protestant conquests in Europe. In the earlier period the Dominicans and the Franciscans carried the whole burden. Later the Jesuits came to their assistance. Among the greatest souls of the period must be numbered Las Casas (d. 1566), a Dominican friar who became the prophet and the protector of the American Indians. That he advocated the introduction of African slaves as a measure of sparing the Indians seems to be grounded upon insecure evidence. In other fields, in the Orient as well as in the Occident, the friars labored with great devotion but with indifferent success. Some of their missions crumbled with the withdrawal of military protection.

The Jesuits occupy an important place in the history of missions. Into India, where the Nestorians and later the Dominicans and Franciscans had established mission stations, came the ardent Jesuit Francis Xavier in 1542. His success was phenomenal but not lasting, due partly to his refusal to learn the native tongues. After a brief period in Japan his unquenchable zeal drove him to China, where he died in 1552 before reaching the mainland. Jesuits who followed him in these fields frequently gained their converts by adopting the customs, dress, and habits of the natives, a practice which later received papal condemnation. In other fields, notably in Paraguay, South America, and in California, they established patriarchal communities in which natives were taught trades as well as the rudiments of Christianity. It is generally conceded that too little effort was made to form the converts into self-supporting churches. Some educational work was done in the establishment of schools and colleges, but these again were primarily for the training of the foreign workers, not of the native population. Authority as stressed in this church, it would seem, will also prevent any future development of local autonomy or the rise of native churches independent of Rome, except by the process of schism.

Because of friction between the various religious orders engaged in the missionary movement, Rome early in the seventeenth century created the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a board which became the wealthiest and the most powerful missionary agency in the world. Under wise guidance it has systematized and consolidated all the agencies and spread the Roman faith to all quarters of the globe.

2. Protestant Missions. While Catholic emissaries were penetrating many of the newly discovered portions of the world, Protestantism seemed to be largely oblivious to the obligations of a world task. Various reasons for this lack of a missionary vision may be cited. In the first place, the task of consolidating and defending the home base against Catholic aggression consumed much energy and time. Defective doctrinal ideas also barred the path to a larger vision. Some leaders, for instance, declared that the original missionary commission was limited to the apostles. Others entertained the notion of an imminent end of the present world-order. This imperfect doctrine of the Last Things made religion almost exclusively an

affair of the inner life and of the future world. To this may be added the external fact that for a long period Catholic countries through their conquests had a monopoly over the foreign lands, access to which was denied those of other faiths.

a. Beginning of Protestant Missions. During the seventeenth century, conquests made by Protestant nations began to direct the attention of the Christians of these lands to the missionary task. Not until the eighteenth century, however, did the impulse translate itself into action. The awakening was largely an outgrowth of the Pietist revival. From Halle, Germany, the first missionaries were sent out, among the foremost of whom was C. F. Schwartz, who labored for many years in the British and Danish colonies in India with such success that a large native church became permanently established. Influenced but not created by Pietism was the small Moravian Church, large in zeal and missionary vision, which set itself to the task of world evangelization with a program and a passion that has never been surpassed. As early as 1732, under the influence of Zinzendorf, the first leader of the church, missionaries began to go out into barren and inhospitable lands where others hesitated to enter. This church has remained true to its original aim and at present the majority of its members is found in lands far from the home base.

b. British Missions. Aside from evangelizing efforts in the American colonies and some interest on the part of the Quakers, the first official missionary act of British Christianity came with the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701). The movement was given further impetus by the Wesleyan Revival which began as a home-missionary propaganda and then, inspired by Britain's fast-growing empire, rapidly developed extensive foreign interests under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Coke. But the inauguration of systematic world missions on a large scale is usually connected with the name of William Carey, who by pen and personal example gave the cause the dynamic it needed. In 1793 he sailed for India, where he translated the Scriptures and laid the foundations for all later Protestant missions, especially in his emphasis upon education and the training of native leaders. His chief significance, perhaps, lay in the stimulus that he gave to large sections of the church to assume the missionary obligation. As a result we meet the organization in rapid succession of voluntary missionary societies in many of the churches in Great Britain and in America. Under the auspices of one of these, the London Missionary Society, Robert Morrison was sent in 1807 as the first Protestant missionary to China.

c. American Missions. In America the response came from a small group of students in Williams College which resulted soon after in the formation of the American Board, at first interdenominational and then Congregational. The first missionaries left for India in 1812. Similar organizations were created in other churches until practically all the denominations assumed the missionary obligation as one legitimately self-imposed. This was evident in the increased support given the societies already organized and in the creation of new societies. Women's Boards were organized to take charge of the work among women and children. Bible and tract societies greatly augmented the possibilities of advance in all fields where translations were being made. The Young Men's Christian Association (1844) and the Young Women's Christian Association (organized as a world force in 1894) have contributed largely in their international phase of development. In many fields the work has become so firmly established that no enforced withdrawal of the foreign missionaries would materially alter its status.

G. GENERAL APPRAISAL

So many changes have taken place in recent years that a brief comparison of the newer phases of the missionary propaganda with the older will not be amiss. While once the primary objective had been soul salvation, with the emphasis upon the individual and his incorporation in the church, the present approach considers the claims of social salvation. "Evangelization of the world in this generation" has become more clearly the Christianization of the world as the ultimate goal of all endeavor. That dangers lie concealed beneath a one-sided emphasis cannot be denied.[9] The changed objectives, however, have eventuated in a broader and more varied program. In addition to the preaching of the Word, to the winning of souls for the church, to the preparation of these converts for heaven, missionary leaders have increasingly introduced agencies of Christian nurture, such as schools and literature, medical equipment of all sorts, and even industrial appliances. Culture and civilization, it was thought, were to go hand in hand with religion. That the imported religion came to be identified in the minds of many of the natives with the imported civilization, inevitably placed the sins of the latter upon the former to the disparagement of Christianity. On the other hand, many regions received a cultural and a material uplift which became a boon to them.

Furthermore, the comparative study of religions has changed the former attitude of antagonism and hostility to the ethnic religions to one of much greater appreciation and understanding. Mutual recriminations are not so prevalent. Many missionaries joyfully acknowledge the spiritual worth that may be found in the indigenous faiths. They feel that the superiority and the uniqueness of the religion of Jesus Christ need not be sacrificed. Out of this larger view has come the attempt to present Jesus Christ and allow him to become naturalized through the experience and in the thinking of the people. Rigid denominational patterns are not so much in evidence. In harmony with this judgment paternalism is gradually giving place to the granting of a larger degree of local autonomy as the native churches are beginning to assert an independent spirit. Japanese Christians, and more recently those of China, have given evidence of the growth of this spirit. Logically, this ought to be the natural outcome of missionary endeavor.

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[9] Cf. words of E. C. Moore, in *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* p. 89: "Those who want nothing but civic righteousness and social salvation, economic redemption, commercial ethics, the gospel of hygiene and eugenics, the divine ministry of comfort and even of leisure and pleasure, are much in evidence." Later he adds, "As an exclusive view of religion or as a substitute for religion it is ridiculous, stupid, and dangerous." (Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.)

As we study the results of this world-wide movement, we meet the claim that the impact of the Occident upon the Orient, upon Africa, and upon the isles of the sea has had a deleterious effect. We hear that it created a spirit of unrest, that it undermined faith in the old religions, hence in religion itself, and that it introduced the spirit of a selfish individualism and a deadening materialism with its dependence upon physical force. The truth in this claim may readily be admitted, with the observation, however, that the negative results would have been still worse had not the spirit of religion tempered the brutal forces of the impact. Leaving aside the obvious worth-while results of this interpenetration of the world by European civilization, sufficient evidence lies before us to conclude that the march of the Christian religion around the globe has been worth all the effort in life and money expended. The West as well as the East has been benefited by this contact. Christianity and the various indigenous faiths have been enriched by this mutual interpenetration.

The story of the modern missionary enterprise is the most amazing in the whole realm of missionary annals. During the last century and a quarter more continents have been opened up to missions, more territory has been covered, more mission stations have been established, more money has been spent, more translations of the Bible have been made, and more missionary literature published than in any previous period of equal length. Africa is no longer the "Dark Continent," South America cannot now be called the "neglected continent," while Asia, the cradle of Christianity, is beginning to direct wondering attention to the story and the claims of her own prophet, Jesus of Nazareth. Tibet alone bears witness to the time when vast areas were closed to the gospel message. Christians far outnumber adherents of any other single religion and may be said to constitute over one fourth of the world's population.[10]

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[10] A recent computation of the world's religions has given Christianity over five hundred and fifty million adherents.

CHAPTER XX

THE STORY OF THE CREEDS

In a number of the preceding chapters the history of Christian thought has received consideration. In this chapter the aim will be to present those formulations of doctrine which became authoritative and normative by official promulgation in council, assembly, or conference. In other words we shall deal primarily with doctrines which have become dogma and with statements of belief which have become creedal affirmations. At the close of the chapter brief references are given to formulations of principles which more recently have been proposed as guides to conduct.

That this development should have occurred was perfectly natural and inevitable. First comes experience, then the attempt to explain it. That the explanations took the form they did was to be expected. That different ages worded their beliefs differently could not have been otherwise on the basis of experience, philosophy, and social milieu. Thus Nicea would have been an anachronism in the first century; the Westminster Confession, an enigma in the fourth century; while the Unitarian affirmation would have been anathema during the Middle Ages.

A. Early Creeds

In the infancy of the church no elaborate creedal statements are in evidence. Experience was there, vital and dynamic, experience of God, of Christ, of sin and salvation, but no formal, systematized expression of its meaning. The Old Testament conceptions of God obtained everywhere, with the exception of certain sections where Christ was represented as the

God of the new religion. The fact of Christ was so stupendous that very early some statement arose to meet the needs of the experience of Christ. The earliest creed was probably "The Messiah is Jesus" (in Jewish circles), "Jesus is the Lord" (in Gentile circles). At first it would appear in the form of a question, "Do you believe Jesus to be the Christ?" asked of the new convert. By a natural process this was changed into an affirmation, the new disciple then making the statement in creedal form. New experiences, deeper thought, contact with heresies, the impact of Greek philosophy, and other factors caused a gradual enlargement of the first simple declarations of faith. In most instances the creeds which resulted have been due to the overpowering sense of that Personality whose Spirit was present, whose influence was ever increasing, and whose person demanded ever enlarging explanations. As we shall see, the church could not escape the necessity of attempting to formulate creeds, however inadequate the results may appear to modern minds.

B. Creeds of the Church Universal

1. Apostles' Creed. According to a legend originating in the fifth century, the original apostles wrote this creed. According to history, we are dealing with the slowest-growing creed of the church. The germs of the creed can be traced back to the second century, but its final form, to the fifth. It seems to have had its origin in Rome, where in simpler form it constituted a statement of the facts of faith in a baptismal formula. Statements were added from time to time to combat various heresies (especially Gnostic and Marcionite), and thus the creed grew. The first clause denies the Gnostic separation of the supreme God and the Creator; the simple historical facts of the life of Jesus refute all docetic heresies; the phrase "His only Son, our Lord" leaves no room for emanations or eons; and the affirmation of the resurrection

of the flesh (body) nullifies the theory that the physical was essentially and totally evil. The last section of the creed, dealing with the church and the forgiveness of sins, was probably added to combat the Novatian views of an exclusive, puritanical church.[1] Although this creed did not contain a full summary of the faith even of that day, it met the needs of the practical West in its imposing simplicity and its positive, non-theoretical statements. The East, as we shall see, found truth and assurance in formulations of a more theological nature. As a bulwark of the faith of the church, a milestone of Christian experience on the pathway of life, this creed has been of real value, despite its obvious limitations.

2. The Nicene Creed.[2] The first authoritative creed which the church established in general council assembled was the Nicene (325). In brief form as modified by the creed of Jerusalem (348) and by Constantinople in 381, it summed up the beliefs of the age as to God, Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the resurrection, and the future life, excluding in some of its references specifically the Arian heresies regarding the person of Christ.[3] Thus to the statement of beliefs read by Bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea before the council and representing the general conservative belief of the church, several clauses were added to make the whole creed heresy (Arian) proof. These additions dealt in the main with the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, using the phrases, *begotten, not made, of one essence* (homoousion) *with the Father.*

The metaphysical term—*homoousion*[4]—previously condemned as Sabellian, seemed to some to be the only expression which fully defined the fact that Christ in his essential nature was truly one with God and so capable of uniting man with God. Despite its abstract presentation, religious issues at the basis were the real reason for the prolonged apologetic in its defense, as a study of Athanasius, the chief protagonist of this view, will demonstrate. Beneath the metaphysical phraseology we may discern his effort to emphasize the supreme fact of the church's religious experience, that *God was in Christ,* reconciling the world to himself, and that the individual could come in contact with the living God and not merely with some sub-deity delegated for that purpose. That it was not expressed in simpler and, we might add, in more biblical terms, was due to the intellectualizing Greek mind. Whereas men to-day are concerned more with the moral and spiritual identity of Christ and the Father, the Greek Fathers must needs think of identity in terms of substance and nature. Furthermore, the creed helped the church to overcome the Arianizing of its fundamental beliefs, admitted by historians to have been a subtle and serious danger. That another hardly less serious element entered into the spirit of the church must also be conceded. It was the spirit of dogmatism and intolerance, militant and coercive, which too readily displaced religion as personal loyalty by a religion regarded as assent to abstract propositions.

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[1] See Chapter XXII. "He descended into Hades" was added about the year 400.

[2] Sometimes called the "Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed," because the Council of Constantinople in 381 reaffirmed and modified the earlier Nicene creed.

[3] Cf. Chapter XXI for the discussion of Arianism.

[4] From the Greek—*homos*, "same," and *ousia*, meaning "substance."

3. The Chalcedonian Creed. As we have seen, the Council of Nicea had declared for a divine-human Christ against Arianism. The Council of Constantinople (381) reaffirmed the same with additional articles on the divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost and on the complete humanity of Christ. The Council of Ephesus (431) followed with a disclaimer against the danger of ascribing a dual personality to Christ, which seemed to be involved in the Nestorian heresy. Finally, the fourth General Council met at Chalcedon in 451 to settle the doctrine of the two

natures of Christ. It was the aim of the theologians to confirm this doctrine while avoiding at the same time the error of duality of persons. Christ must be one, but not at the expense of having the human wholly submerged in the divine as the abbot, Eutyches, had declared in theory. And Christ must have two distinct natures, but not on the basis of a mere moral or sympathetic union suggested by Nestorius.

The Council of Chalcedon actually adopted some views tinged with Nestorianism in trying to avoid the greater dangers involved in the "one nature" theories of Apollinaris and Eutyches. These theories had sacrificed the real humanity of Jesus Christ. In the creed which was finally adopted, the chief elements of which had been suggested by Leo I, the divine and the human are both stressed in such fashion as to preserve the permanence of Christ's manhood and the reality of his divinity. The significant phrase is "two natures, unconfusedly, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably . . . in one Person." But no explanation is offered of the mode of this union, although it was suggested that one personality bound the two natures together. The later decisions against the "one nature" and the "one will" exponents of the person of Christ were merely extensions of Chalcedon.

Because ancient Christian thought lacked the modern idea of personality and was caught within the philosophic meshes of Greek speculation, this solution appeared to be the only one congruous with the fact of history and the fact of experience. The ultimate conclusion reached by theologians was that Jesus Christ was a human being and a divine being, but one person of two natures and two wills. The creeds of the councils were not complete, nor were they final. They indicated, rather, the inadequacy of the theories which the so-called heretics had propounded, and the bounds within which a solution might be found. They must be viewed as symbols, not as exact scientific descriptions. As symbols they approximated the truth of the experience of the Christians of the ancient world. They constituted a bond of union, a criterion of belief in an age when both were needed. They kept the church from splitting up into innumerable fragments; they stood for something abiding in a world threatened with dissolution.

It is easy to ridicule the efforts of the Fathers, to condemn their methods, to disparage the genuine gains they achieved, and to magnify the schisms which they were instrumental in creating. With few exceptions their aims were worthy if not noble, and the intellectual instruments they used about the only ones available. However, this does not make their solutions binding upon the conscience of the church for all time; nor can we of to-day condone the anathemas attached to the creeds or the un-Christlike methods of propagating the same.

4. The Athanasian Creed. The verbal subtleties of another creed, which originated in the West about the sixth century and was called Athanasian, need but to be mentioned. It attempts to summarize the doctrinal decisions of the councils and the speculations of Augustine and others on the Trinity and the incarnation. This abstruse dialectic symbol was never universally adopted even in the West, while the Eastern Church always refused to sanction it.

C. MEDIÆVAL FORMULATIONS

During the Middle Ages no creeds of any importance arose. The Orthodox Church of the East was stagnant so far as doctrinal development was concerned. The Western Church utilized its energies in systematizing and synthesizing the traditional inheritance. The *filioque* addition to the Nicene creed (589) might be listed as an evidence of creed-making. Orthodox reaction against Pelagian heresies never issued in official and authoritative statements that could be called creeds. As a matter of fact, the doctrines which lived on in the West embodied Pelagian as well as Augustinian elements. So far as anthropology is concerned we have no orthodox doctrine. The theory of Anselm on the atonement won its way to almost universal acceptance, but nothing of an official pronouncement has stood in the way of its alteration or modification by later Catholic thinkers. The same cannot be said for the dogma of transubstantiation, which received its final official definition at the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome, 1215, and which ever since has been authoritative for Roman Catholicism.

D. Confessions of Modern Christianity

1. The Eastern Church. The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, approved by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672, in the form of question and answer, states the chief beliefs of that large section of Christendom. It really constitutes a lengthy catechism, containing the creedal forms inherited from the past, with a few additions of a polemical nature against the errors of both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

A more authoritative confession or catechism, virtually displacing the older form just mentioned, is that under the title of "The Longer Catechism of the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church." This received the approval of the Most Holy Synod in 1839, after having been prepared by Philaret, a high ecclesiastic in the Russian Church. It is the culmination of the long intellectualizing process which the Hellenistic spirit brought into the church. A reading of the creed gives the impression that precise, correct statement of doctrinal content and acceptance of the same is the center of religion. Salvation comes by way of orthodoxy; the church, in this case the Orthodox Church, is the sole home and guardian of this orthodoxy. Only in comformity with and the acceptance of this teaching can the individual hope "to please God and save his own soul."

2. The Roman Catholic Church. Western Catholicism made similar claims to full catholicity and unchanging orthodoxy. To establish and fortify these claims a number of imposing symbols were formulated and authoritatively defined. The task of changing an "unchanging" church was begun at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). The decrees and canons of this council constitute the beliefs of the whole Roman Catholic world, made doubly secure by a subsequent Profession of the Tridentine Faith, issued by the pope under Jesuit direction in 1564. In this profession we find a statement of the essence of Catholic beliefs summarized under twelve articles. The Council itself made authoritative for all time the religious metaphysics of Aquinas, the supreme scholastic of the thirteenth century; it declared Tradition to be equal to Scripture; it prohibited any change whatsoever in the realm of beliefs which this Tradition had created in the past; it declared against the doctrine of Justification by Faith as held by Luther; it definitely placed the pope above the general council, thus reversing the decision of the Council of Constance; and finally, it presented complete doctrinal immobility as the ideal of the true church. In this manner was the Roman Church fortified by a comprehensive and rigid creed; a creed that was proclaimed sacrosanct, inviolate, and hence impossible of alteration as to substance.

Changes were made, however, in the direction of a fuller explication of the old, according to Catholic scholars. Thus the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, defined in 1854 by Pope Pius IX, became by that act an essential part of the faith, whereas before it had been a debatable matter. After the pope had declared himself, in the famous Syllabus of Errors of 1864, in opposition to the modern mind in its ideals of progress and liberalism, it remained for him to follow out the implications of his logic and declare himself in his official capacity as infallible. However hedged about with explanations, it would appear that the Roman Catholic now has two new dogmas in his creed which he must accept and believe, namely, that Mary shared in no taint of original sin and that the pope, speaking *ex cathedra*,[5] is the Voice of God. From this it would also appear that any further unfolding or definition of dogma would necessarily come through papal pronouncement.

As we compare the creeds of both branches of Catholicism, striking similarities are disclosed. Both claim to be in possession of the sole, absolute truth, both magnify agreement with the "faith once for all delivered to the saints," both are tremendously influenced by tradition, and both claim a monopoly of the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In one particular the West differs from the East, in its insistence upon absolute submission to the institution, to the Supreme Pontiff, as an article of the true faith. To put it differently, orthodoxy alone is not sufficient in the Roman Catholic Church; submission to the pope also is required.

3. Protestant Formulations. The creeds, articles, or confessions of the various Protestant groups are so numerous that only those which are typical can be considered. The term "Protestantism" must perforce do service for a great variety of movements from the orthodox Lutheran to the radical Socinian.

a. The Lutheran Confession. The doctrinal basis of Lutheranism is found in the Augsburg Confession of 1530. Written by the conciliatory Melanchthon, it embodies in tempered language the chief doctrines of Lutheranism, strangely omitting, however, the sole authority of Scripture and the priesthood of all believers. It enlarges on the traditional doctrines of the church universal in order to demonstrate its orthodoxy. A number of evils are then enumerated together with their false supporting principles, the document claiming that many of the abuses had been corrected. On the whole, the platform of Protestantism over against Catholicism is well stated, especially the differentiation between salvation by faith and salvation by works. What might be called an expansion of this standard confession is known as the *Formula of Concord,* published in 1580. Even in its shorter form, The Epitome, it contains a very profuse explanation in scholastic terminology of disputed points in theology, closing with a lengthy refutation of the heresies of the Anabaptists, the Schwenkfeldians, the New Arians, and the Anti-trinitarians. The Augsburg Confession vibrates with life, but here we begin to enter the valley of doctrinal dry bones. The Confession is still a standard in practically all Lutheran churches, the Formula of Concord has sunk into deserved oblivion.

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[5] Meaning "out of the chair"—the pope speaking in his official capacity as chief shepherd of the church.

b. Calvinistic Confessions. The numerous Calvinistic creedal formulations are sufficiently similar to enable us to take one of them as a type of them all. The Westminster Confession of Faith, adopted in 1647 by the Westminster Assembly, contains a comprehensive exposition of Calvinism before it was modified by later divines. It has become the standard for Presbyterianism in Scotland and America. It was in part a repetition of the high Calvinism which had been formulated at the Synod of Dort against the Arminian doctrines, slightly modified by the "two covenant" theology. This so-called Federal theology, originating on the Continent, stressed a covenant of grace succeeding the covenant of works and thus tended to tone down the older notion of God's absolute decrees. In the Westminster Confession the following positions are stressed: the infallible Scriptures are declared to be basic in all matters of doctrine and practice; no "new revelations of the Spirit" can add to what has been revealed; predestination is as absolute and certain as God himself; total depravity and original sin make the good works which are "done by unregenerate men" wholly useless; and the Sabbath, true to the Puritan conviction, comes up for special consideration. Other sections deal with the church, the sacraments, Christian life, and the Last Things. Whoever seeks the gist of Calvinism may find it here in all its logical consistency and precise dogmatic utterance. Calvinism has always made so much of doctrine that it can hardly be appraised apart from its magnificent creedal formulations. Although Calvinism found its most typical expression in the creed to which reference has just been made, its most elaborate and scholastic formulation is seen in the Formula Consensus (1675) which became authoritative in parts of Switzerland. It is in this creed (Article II) that the most extravagant claims of biblical inspiration are found, in the assertion that even the Hebrew vowel-points were infallibly inspired.

The Arminian protest, doctrinally, centered in the famous five points of the Remonstrance of 1610, which maintained conditional election, universal grace, resistible grace which implies some human freedom, and the possibility of falling from grace. This view was condemned in a great Synod at Dort, 1618-19, which proclaimed the death-knell for Arminianism in Holland by insisting upon pure, unadulterated Calvinism. Arminian ideas, however, filtered through into the thinking of outstanding Dutch leaders, into the High-Church party in England, and through Methodism in particular became the dominant type in America.

c. The Radical Sects. The radical wing of the Reformation, in its opposition to much of the traditional theology and ecclesiasticism, felt the need of composing brief confessional statements. The Anabaptists found a simple Catechism helpful for their early needs, but later enlarged upon this in such summaries as Hübmaier's *Twelve Articles of Christian Belief,* and the *Seven Articles* of 1527. In these a radical deviation from the general Protestant positions is maintained in two particulars. In the first place, the church was declared to be the visible congregation of the regenerate and the baptized (adult) who voluntarily entered into this saving relationship. In the second place, salvation by virtue (character) was stressed, though grace was regarded as essential in the process; right brotherly conduct of the highest New Testament type was declared to be vital and obligatory; otherworldliness, leading to asceticism, and minute Biblical regulation of life, tending to legalism, was inculcated. As among the Bohemian Brethren before them, we find an appreciation of some of the social implications of the gospel of Christ. This was an emphasis which had been sadly neglected by the church at large. Religious toleration also found in them practically its only supporters. Their narrow attitude toward civil government was a serious defect in an otherwise commendable credo of life. The Mennonite *Confession of Waterland* (1580) shows general agreement with the Anabaptist positions, but is milder in tone and more in harmony with the average Protestant views.

The Socinians were the rationalists among the Protestants as the Anabaptists were the social radicals. In harmony with their intellectualizing aims, the Racovian Catechism (1605-1609) forms a compendium of Christian beliefs which purports to be based throughout upon Scripture and upon reason. The humanistic and rationalistic strain is quite pronounced, though a quaint supernaturalism runs through it all. For that period it exhibits a remarkably liberal attitude toward difference of opinion. It upholds strenuously the highest ethical demands, though ignoring almost completely the mystical element in religion. Its various denials of traditional doctrines are stated elsewhere.[6] Although the Socinian protest never assumed large proportions, its influence upon Arminianism and modern Unitarianism has been quite significant and far-reaching.

d. Anglican and Methodist Articles of Religion. The Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 (a revision of the forty-two articles of Edward VI) are partly Lutheran in tenor because of the influence of various Lutheran confessions. They are also Calvinistic, particularly on the subjects of predestination and the Eucharist. After slight revision the Articles assumed their present form and became binding in 1571. They reflect a comprehensiveness and a moderation not usually found in Protestant creeds, due perhaps to the eminently practical bent of the English mind. These articles, with a few minor changes, were adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1801, and in 1873 by the Reformed Episcopal Church on the occasion of its secession from the former.

The doctrinal standards of the Methodist Church are the Thirty-nine Articles (revised and reduced in number), Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament,* and his fifty-eight published sermons. In most of the American branches the Twenty-five Articles, and the book of *Discipline,* together with the aforementioned *Notes* and *Sermons* constitute the regulative doctrinal patterns. Curiously enough, the Methodist Episcopal Church, despite the well-known attitude of its founder and its own emphasis on the Holy Spirit, has a provision making the Articles of Religion unalterable. The Salvation Army (1865), an offspring of Methodism, has little room in its practical campaign of soul-winning for any doctrinal impediments which cannot be made to serve its immediate objective. Its simplified creed might be called a modified Methodistic Arminianism.

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[6] See Chapter XXI on "Heresy in History."

e. The Independents. Under this loose term we may group the Congregational, Baptist, and Quaker doctrines. All were affected by the Anabaptist movement in the direction of voluntarianism, the autonomy of each congregation, and the liberty of the individual conscience. The Baptists occupied a peculiar position as regards the subjects (adults) and the mode (immersion) of baptism. The greater number of the Baptist groups adhered to Calvinism, the others were Arminian.

The Quakers, like the Congregationalists, minimized the importance of authoritative doctrinal standards, but, unlike the latter, magnified the immediate guidance of the Spirit (inner light, universally diffused). Under the circumstances we can speak only of an approach to a creed. This is found in the *Fifteen Theses* of Robert Barclay, prominent as theologian. Also, in the nature of the case, each Congregational church has a right to set up its own standards or platforms. Robert Browne is credited with being the father of the movement in his *Statement of Congregational Principles,* 1582. The doctrine here as in much of the later development is Calvinistic. Two important American declarations, the *Declaration of Faith* of 1865 and the *Commission Creed* of 1883, are the best recent expositions of the movement, which have been modified again in the interests of union in the *Union Statement of 1906.*

f. Anti-Creed Churches. Some churches, like the Quakers, Unitarians, and the Disciples of Christ, show their hostility toward authoritative creeds by magnifying a definite attitude or approach to religious truth and problems. Although not given regulative power, certain "positions" they maintain may, in a modified sense, be called creeds. Unitarians, with wide differences of belief—or shall we say thought?—generally stand upon the old Socinian platform minus its crude supernaturalism. The great beliefs are: "The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, the Leadership of Jesus, the Progress of Mankind onward and upward forever."[7] Humanism comes to the fore in the assertion that belief in the divine nature of man is at the very heart of the faith, that salvation is by character. If Christianity is essentially a religion of redemption through the grace of God in Christ, then Unitarianism, by its oversimplification, has missed some deeper note which the historic church has ever emphasized.

The Disciples of Christ take their stand unreservedly upon the Bible, protesting against "human creeds" because of their divisive results. And yet the brief statement of their beliefs presented during the Exposition at Chicago in 1893 is of a confessional nature.[8] Its brevity and simplicity, its catholic spirit and passionate desire for real church union, are manifestations highly to be commended.

g. The Social Creed. Space will permit reference only to one more creed, the so-called social creed. Feeling that the creeds of the past and the doctrines of the church in their individualistic emphasis neglected factors of vital import to the full gospel of Jesus Christ, prophetic souls of the present generation have led various churches in the formulation of ideals and principles which seek to present the social implications of Christianity. We may call this an attempt to acknowledge God's will revealed in Jesus Christ as normative in all human relationships, as the older creeds sought to embody God's word in human thought and personal conduct. The first definite pronouncement came through the Methodist Social Creed of 1908, followed by a similar statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

On the basis of these and similar formulations an increasing number of men are beginning to feel that society as well as the individual must be saved; indeed, that full salvation for the latter is possible only within the pure atmosphere of a Christianized social organism; that the regeneration of the world's soul must go with the regeneration of the individual's soul; that thus alone can the kingdom of God, which is primary, be established; that social evils are among the greatest obstacles to the advancement of the Kingdom; that Christ can be all in all only by the permeation of society by his spirit. This is not intended to be in the nature of a false, either-or antithesis. Its self-evident intention is to add to the individualistic aspect of the gospel its complementary part—the social aspect.

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[7] "Questions and Answers Concerning Our Unitarian Faith, Fellowship, and Organization," which is an official leaflet, No. 13, in Curtis' *History of Creeds,* pp. 370ff.

[8] In Curtis' *History of Creeds,* p. 308f.

E. SUMMARY

We have noted the gradual elaboration of the simple early creeds, Hebraic in spirit, into longer and more intricate expressions as other social minds became dominant, the Hellenic, the Latin, the Teutonic, and the Modern. As the Oriental social mind becomes creative in the sphere of Christian thinking, we may anticipate still other formulations. The Apostles' Creed, not written by the apostles; the Nicene Creed, not created, as we have it by the council of that name; the Athanasian Creed from the period long after the time of Athanasius; the later Reformation creeds and the denominational confessions, all have their justification when they are regarded as guideposts to truth, approximations of reality, and indications of thought applied to the realm of Christian experience. Every definition is not a misfortune, as Erasmus claimed. As an aid to clarity, assurance, and solidarity, we must have formulations in religion, as we have them in various realms of knowledge. The multiplicity of creeds suggests that the Christian religion is too great to be expressed within the limits of one creed; that not one of them or all together can claim finality; that diversity in form may be compatible with a vital spirit of Christian unity, provided, of course, that the essence of the faith is found in supreme loyalty to a Person and not in loyalty to creed. If we once admit, with Luther, that infallibility cannot be ascribed to general councils or church assemblies, then we need not be slaves to ancient formulas.

To-day our chief problems seem to be: first, to rethink our theistic beliefs in an intellectual world more and more dominated by an arrogant naturalism; and, second, to restate our Christian convictions and ideals in a social world coming increasingly under the sway of a subtle paganism. Some dynamic credo, concise, comprehensive, and clear, may issue from the conflict.

CHAPTER XXI

HERESY IN HISTORY

WHY did not primitive Christianity developing into the Holy Catholic Church retain within its fold one set of doctrines believed by all to be unchangeable, infallible, and sacrosanct? Why were there so many cross currents running athwart the chief doctrinal stream; why so many individuals and groups refusing to believe the generally accepted opinion? Heretics, to get at the root meaning of the term, were guilty not of vicious perverseness, but of choosing their own opinion and formulating their own doctrinal statements when they ought to have accepted the prevailing thought of the church. Usually we meet with a sincere attempt on their part to find the truth, an attempt to formulate faith in harmony with their convictions. During the first two centuries thought was still in such a fluid state that many diverse opinions laid claim to orthodoxy. The freedom of thought that was permitted in the church compares favorably with the later repressive measures adopted by church officials to crush heresy. An investigation into the rivulets of heresy which trickled into or ran alongside the main orthodox stream will yield results that should place the whole church movement in a better perspective and demonstrate its genetic development.[1]

A. HERESIES REPUDIATED BY THE CHURCH

1. Jewish and Chiliastic Problems. The first conception which suffered ostracism at the hands of a growing and changing church was that which defined the religion of Jesus in terms of a rigorous Mosaism. As we have seen,[2] this Jewish crisis was safely passed when another confronted the church in the form of rigid chiliastic[3] beliefs. This early church premillennialism captured the imagination of multitudes, who saw in the early return of the Master and his establishment of a millennial earthly kingdom, a squaring of accounts to their own advantage. Others felt that the triumph of the church over the pagan world powers could come only in some such way. Later this view was repudiated because of its subscription to the idolatry of the letter, as Origen called it, and its extravagant accompaniments. Having served a worthy purpose in supporting the faith and courage of Christians during seasons of persecution, the hold of chiliasm upon the thought of the church weakened. The more spiritual interpretations of the Alexandrian theologians, the Augustinian conception of the gradual expansion of the City of God, and the actual and substantial progress of the historical church placed the emphasis elsewhere.

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[1] Cf. Jones, Rufus M. *The Church's Debt to the Heretics.*

2. Montanism. Soon after the middle of the second century a movement arose in opposition to the Old Catholic emphasis upon forms and institutions. Montanus of Phrygia, the founder of the movement, sought to prevent what he thought was the hardening of the church's arteries. He feared that the spontaneity, the prophetic spirit, and the immediacy of spiritual guidance of primitive Christianity were vanishing. Hence the cry, "Back to the time of the apostles when divinely inspired prophets were leaders." The enthusiastic disciples of Montanus, greatest among whom was Tertullian, denied that the apostolic age had exhausted God's revealing power. They opposed the ecclesiastical dictum that personal inspiration could come only secondhand through the apostles, to

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[2] See Chapter IV for the discussion of the Jewish problem.

[3] From the Greek word meaning "one thousand."

be mediated even farther down the line by the bishop to the individual. Despite certain static concepts such as chiliasm, and a proneness to magnify ecstasies and visions, the leaders in the main were forward-looking and prepared to receive new manifestations of God. Tertullian, for instance, claimed that a holy man, a prophet of God, ought to have more authority in the church than a bishop, who might not be one of God's inspired and whose only claim to authority was his official position.

After a brief period of expansion the movement was crushed because its irregularities, emotional outbursts, and anachronistic teachings threatened the orderly expression of Christianity and the official authority of the bishops. The church as an organization gained through the expulsion of the fanatical elements attached to the movement. By emphasizing historical continuity, and by retaining an open mind regarding the mooted question of the second coming of Christ, the church likewise profited. On the other hand, the church sustained a serious loss in the suppression of an enthusiastic prophetic movement which harbored at least some belief in progressive revelation and in immediate personal communion with God.

3. Gnosticism. A more serious problem arose when the church met a mixture of theosophical speculations, known as Gnosticism. This system was a hodge-podge of Oriental speculations, magic, and Greek thought, overlaid in some of its forms by Christian ideas. Its roots were in pre-Christian soil. Traces of its influence appear at some points in the New Testament. Simon Magus and Cerinthus were early proponents of this view. Its greatest development took place during the second century. In this century Basilides and Valentinus created a vast speculative system in which the Gnostic story of life and the cosmos presented the appearance of a celestial romance. It dealt with profound questions of

creation, evil, salvation, and eschatology. Firmly rooted in a dualism between spirit and matter, Gnostic speculation posited a supreme God who in the purity of his spiritual essence could not touch this material, finite world. He, the Absolute, was not responsible for the creation of this, the material, which was the source of evil. A lower deity or aeon, the demiurge, was the creator of the material world. Creation was thus by default, not by design. Salvation came through the knowledge (*gnosis*) dispensed by another aeon, the Christ, regarded as docetic,[4] an appearance without a real human nature. The intellectually (*gnostic*) elect were received in the Pleroma, or the highest heaven of the Absolute; Christians capable of a partial salvation went into a lower heaven with the demiurge; the remainder, dominated by the material, were lost.

Although influential in the church because of its attempt to make Christianity into the universal religion by transforming it into a philosophy of history, its dangerous tendencies were disclosed by leading church Fathers like Irenæus and Hippolytus. As Harnack suggests, the system was wrecked in the church because of its faulty doctrines of free will, its antipathy to the Old Testament, and its peculiar eschatology, or teaching of the Last Things. Substituting vague speculations for concrete historical facts, it threatened to undermine the essential foundations of Christianity. These foundations the church was bound to protect if only to preserve the human historical Jesus. Had Gnosticism captured the church, the latter would have vanished in a nebula of hollow theosophic speculations.

4. Monarchianism. Sometimes doctrines were rejected by the church when, despite the truth embedded in them, they did not do full justice to the whole truth, to all the implications involved. This was

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[4] The word comes from the Greek signifying "to seem." Christ just seemed to be human.

the case with a second century heresy known as Monarchianism. The word "Monarchian" was coined by Tertullian to designate a group who sought to explain the deity of Christ on the basis of a strict monotheism. If God is One, where shall we place Christ? One group, the "dynamic" Monarchians, with Paul of Samosata at the head, asserted that Christ was a man upon whom the power (*dynamis*= "*power*") of God came so that he became divine. Although the view appeared to do justice to the human element, the church felt its inadequacy so far as the divinity of Christ was concerned.

The point of departure of the second group, headed by Sabellius, was the one divine essence, God. Sabellius taught that the one God revealed himself successively, first as Creator, then as Son, and finally as Holy Spirit. Christ was thus merely a mode or manifestation of God (hence the term "modalistic" Monarchian). It is apparent that in this theory the real humanity of Christ was sacrificed in the attempt to magnify his deity. We have equality within the Trinity, but no incarnation, and no Jesus who actually lived here on earth. On this score the church declared against the view, though by a peculiar reversal in history, one phase of the thought of Sabellius (that of equality within the Trinity) became part of the orthodox teaching of Augustine. Indeed, the heretic's watchword—*homoousios*—emerged as the battle cry of the orthodox during the Arian controversy.

5. Arianism. To this controversy, the greatest Christological strife in the ancient period, we now turn. Whereas Paul of Samosata, on the one hand, had spoken clearly of the man Jesus, emphasizing the fact of history, Sabellius, on the other, had declared for the divine Christ, stressing the fact of experience. Arius of Alexandria proposed a third solution in the peculiar doctrine associated with his name, with slight regard for either the fact of history

or the fact of experience. Throughout the conflict which was created by these problems the church adhered to two dominant convictions. The first was that in coming in contact with Jesus Christ a real human being was encountered—this was the voice of history. The second was that such contact also meant real and vital contact with God—this was the voice of experience. Arianism seemed to be in harmony with neither history nor experience. It was, instead, a confusion of thought.

Arius (c. 318) propounded a view which claimed to have just regard for the unity of God on the one hand and for the distinctness of the Son's personality on the other. According to this theory, Christ came into being by the will of God before time for the purpose of creation and salvation. We have a being below God yet above man, neither God nor man, upon whom our salvation hinges. God was not only pushed farther off in his unapproachable transcendence, but a loophole was fashioned for the introduction of polytheism with Christ and the Holy Spirit as subordinate deities. The significance of the rejection of this view by the church is seen in a study of the solution at Nicea and in the work of the courageous and the brilliant Athanasius.

Beneath the theological verbiage of the doctrinal formulations we may discern that Christianity as a religion of living fellowship with God was at stake and was saved. God himself, incarnate in Christ, Athanasius declared, entered this world to share our experiences and burdens and to atone for our sins. In union with God himself, and not with some delegated creature, is salvation to be found. Arianism, on the other hand, would have transformed Christianity into "cosmology and formal ethics."[5] If Arianism had won, as she did for a time in the East, Christianity, in the words of Carlyle, "would have dwindled into a legend." The victory of the orthodox or Catholic faith, so ably presented by Athanasius, was due primarily to the fact that it met the deepest religious needs of the church much better than its rival. A number of other factors likewise entered in to check the spread of the Arian heresy, chief among which were the following: the authority attached to the Council of Nicea, the support of the orthodox position by the papacy, and the conversion of the dominant Germanic tribe, the Franks, to the Catholic faith. Arianism performed one mission, however, which history gladly acknowledges. For the barbarian tribes this form of Christianity, which most of them met at first, proved to be a half-way station in their spiritual journey from paganism to the orthodox faith.

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[5] E. C. Moore, *History of Christian Thought Since Kant*, p. 146. Charles Scribner's Sons.

6. Pelagianism.[6] Pelagianism was the only major heresy that the West produced. It was sponsored by the British monk, Pelagius, who came to Rome about 400 and found himself immediately in conflict with the influential Augustine. Not having had the latter's revolutionary religious experience, he was unable to appreciate the theology which was the natural outgrowth of the same. As a consequence, the doctrine of original sin, man's inability to help himself, absolute dependence upon grace, the enslaved will, and predestination were categorically denied. On the contrary, Pelagius stressed individual responsibility which arose out of man's innate capacity for self-uplift, his power of free will, and his natural worth and dignity. This he did because it seemed to bear out the dictates of his own experience and religious development. Man was as free as Adam ever was. To Pope Innocent I he wrote, "We say that man is always able to sin and not to sin, so that we may confess that we have free will." As a corollary he was led to stress the importance of good works, salva-

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[6] See Chapter V.

tion by living a life according to nature, and the possible perfectibility of man.

Through the dominant influence of Augustine, Pelagianism was condemned. It was held to be deficient in not realizing the terrible malignity and power of sin as habit, in its failure to recognize the solidarity of the race and thus the generic aspect of evil, and in its shallow optimism regarding man's innate capacities. It glorified moralism at the expense of a religion of grace and as such could not have met the deep religious problems of the day. It must be granted, however, that in their fierce opposition both views received exaggerated emphasis. In seeming recognition of this fact a semi-Pelagianism or semi-Augustinianism actually lived on as the dominant type of thought. Advocated first by the monk Cassian, a contemporary of Augustine, it gradually won the support of the church because of its moderation. It was likewise in harmony with an earlier view which made room for the entrance of man's will in the plan of salvation. Furthermore, its acknowledgment of human merit permitted the church organization to utilize it in the promotion of a vast system of saving "works" which the institution charted for the individuals within its fold.

Subsequent history in varying expressions was a repetition of the earlier struggle. Thus in the ninth century the thoroughgoing Augustinian Gottschalk was suppressed by the semi-Pelagian hierarchy. Protestantism was in part a sixteenth-century Augustinian reaction against the mediæval Catholic modification of that position. In the next century the more or less Pelagian Jesuits almost wiped out their opponents, the Jansenist exponents of Augustinianism. In Wesley's day, on the other hand, a modified Augustinianism won a temporary victory over the Pelagian Deists. To-day the conflict rages between the two aspects of the perennial problem. Shall it be morals or religion, free will or grace, reason or revelation, culture or conversion, humanism or evangelicanism? Why not both?

7. Defective Christologies. For over three hundred years after Nicea the thought of the church was engaged in an interminable and seemingly fruitless struggle with heretical solutions of the problem of the relation of the human and the divine in Jesus Christ. Four great theories were successively presented. Each divided the church, and each resulted in a general council. Into the details, some of them dramatic and others sordid, we cannot enter for lack of space.

The Apollinarian (from the name of its advocate, Apollinaris) theory proposed to explain the sinlessness of Christ by the assumption that his human spirit was displaced by the divine Logos. This "two-thirds-man" conception was rejected because the real humanity of Christ was sacrificed. It was condemned at the second ecumenical council held at Constantinople in 381. The second theory fared no better. In 428 Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, began to teach that Christ is one person of two distinct natures, the human subordinate to the divine. This view was declared unsatisfactory because the real humanity of Christ was again in danger of being minimized, or the way opened to the equally dangerous notion of two persons. Thus spoke the Council of Ephesus, 431.

The third theory, that of Eutyches, advocated the opinion that after the incarnation Christ had but one nature, the divine. After a brief victory at the so-called Robber Synod of 449, where one opponent was roughly handled, and another judged to be worthy of death according to the accusation—"As he has cut Christ in two, so let him be cut in two"—the general council met at Chalcedon, in 451, to give the orthodox answer. Eutychianism was discarded because of its tendency to resolve Christ into a pure ghostlike figure with no regard to the reality of the human. Repressive measures and the anathema, however, failed to quiet the exponents of this heresy which lived on as Monophysitism (one nature) in Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Near East. Their estrangement from Constantinople was one reason why the Mohammedan onslaught met with such slight opposition. Condemnation was meted out to this group at Constantinople in 553. The last authoritative rebuke was administered from the same place in 680 against those who upheld the one will (Monothelite) theory, a natural corollary of the one nature view.

Much of this appears to us a waste of time and energy, and so it was. But we must remember that the church had to find a solution agreeable to the philosophy of that day and in harmony with both the fact of history and the fact of experience. That all solutions were bound up with the substance philosophy of the Greeks cannot be denied. It was a philosophy which demanded that the saving revelation of God in Christ be stated in terms of substance or metaphysical essence. Thus "God was in Christ" rested upon the assumption that they were identical in essence, for it was felt that divine substance and human substance were mutually exclusive. From this it would appear that their solution of the problem of the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith cannot satisfy us in our modern milieu. That fact, however, ought not seriously to militate against the evidently sincere and painstaking work of the Fathers to find a solution that met the needs of their day. That the cause of practical, social religion suffered amid all this doctrinal strife cannot be denied.[7]

8. Mediæval Heresies. A heresy of one generation sometimes becomes the orthodoxy of the next. The contrary is also true. The orthodox Augustine did not live to see one of his most devoted disciples

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[7] See previous chapter for a more extended account of the creedal pronouncements of the church.

repudiated, imprisoned, and anathematized by the church. In the ninth century, a monk, Gottschalk by name, followed out all the implications involved in predestination and brought down upon his head the wrath of the hierarchy. The powerful archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, was willing to have the heretic illustrate the reprobation part of his theory. The latter died without the consolations of the sacraments and was refused burial in consecrated ground. Somewhat earlier a mild form of Adoptionism was advocated by a bishop, Felix, in Spain, which claimed that according to his human nature Christ was the Son of God only by adoption. Similarities between this and the old Nestorian heresy were disclosed by the opponents of Felix and he was condemned by the Synod of Frankfort in 794. No persecution followed, which was perhaps the reason why the ferment subsided.

When doctrine is in the process of becoming orthodox, contrary views, which are held at the time, later come under the category of heresy. The views held by a theologian of the ninth century, Ratramnus by name, will illustrate. He reasoned that Christ was only spiritually present in the Lord's Supper and that he was to be spiritually received through faith. Though ably presented, this spiritual view did not appear to meet the needs of that barbaric age. Christ somehow had to be brought in a more concrete fashion to the untutored minds of men. The opponent of Ratramnus, Paschasius Radbertus, sought to do that very thing in his doctrine of transubstantiation. Starting with the miracle of the mass, he claimed that the elements were changed into the body and the blood of Christ at the priest's words of consecration. Christ's sacrifice of himself was thus continually renewed for the salvation of believers. That the ordained priest alone could perform this miracle so essential for salvation, enhanced his importance and naturally made him a stanch supporter of the sacred rite. Ratramnus died knowing that his view was condemned by the hierarchy; Radbertus lived to see his view assume the character of orthodoxy. It was not until the Lateran Council of 1215, however, that transubstantiation was proclaimed a dogma of the Catholic Church.[8]

The mediæval church had a more serious problem on its hands when ancient Manichæism, combined with paganism and Christianity, began to produce a whole brood of strange sects generally called the Cathari because of their insistence upon a purer mode of life. By purity they usually meant more simplicity, less ritual, and extreme ascetic living. The Albigenses[9] in southern France were the most notable group and may be taken as a type of the others. Dualistic notions led them to seek salvation in extreme self-denial, even to the prohibition of the eating of flesh, the banning of marriage, and the advocacy of suicide. The animal nature of man was a creation of the devil; hence the less body, the more spirit. Christ could not have had a body, for it was the seat of evil; the incarnation, the cross, and the resurrection, consequently, could not be accepted. Included in these denials were all or part of the Old Testament, the hierarchy of the church, sacraments dependent upon material symbols, purgatory, adoration of images, and masses for the dead. The only permissible rite was that of "consolation," a purely spiritual laying on of hands. The recipient became a "perfectus," fully saved. The second, larger and lower group, the "believers," might hope to attain to this salvation some day, perhaps in a reincarnated state.

This extreme protest against a secularized church spread very rapidly during the twelfth century and practically took possession of southern France. When the missions of preaching, in which Saint Dominic was prominent, failed, and when a bloody crusade failed, the work of "saving" these heretics was completed by their extermination through the instrumentality of the terrible Inquisition. A church based on unity could not tolerate a divisive group; a church harboring the only true faith and possessing the power could not tolerate an heretical sect.

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[8] A doctrine is raised to the rank of dogma when it is officially defined by the pope or by a General Council. This obligates all believers to accept it as part of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints."

[9] So called from the town of Albi, at one time their headquarters.

B. CONDEMNATION OF INADEQUATE DOCTRINES

The history of heresy might include a reference to those who, for widely differing reasons, were *personæ non gratæ* with the church. Some suffered persecution because they were ecclesiastical heretics, because they laid their hands upon the institution; for instance, men like Wiclif and Savonarola. Some who went the whole way with Christ were anathematized by a church which went only half-way with the Master. The social prophets among the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and of recent times illustrate this. Others committed the grave offense of demanding the church's return to apostolic poverty and simplicity, and for that crime were either burned or decapitated. Witness Arnold of Brescia. All Protestants are heretics from the Catholic point of view. Some free-lance Protestant thinkers and sects are so classed by the main Protestant groups. And then there is the tendency, happily diminishing, to brand everything as heterodoxy which does not conform to our "doxy."

In our further study certain aspects of theology will be discussed which have proved to be inadequate because of advancing knowledge and more widely extended experience. Some inadequacies were removed by wholesale excision, others by modification, still others by a change of emphasis. The process aptly illustrates the truth that in the realm of thought the church grows by outgrowing; that the solution which may perfectly meet the needs of one age does not on that account meet the needs of the next. It also reveals a fact which is not sufficiently stressed, that doctrines, like institutions, have their history; that they grow, develop, and decay; that modification does not necessarily mean elimination or repudiation; and that the social milieu in which the doctrine arises often determines the garb in which it will be clothed.

1. Doctrine of the Atonement. The history of the doctrine of the atonement will illustrate the nature of the growth and the development to which reference has been made. For centuries the ransom to the devil theory, given currency by Origen, seemed to satisfy wide sections of the church. Often expressed in the most crude and unethical terms,[10] it finally disappeared, backed off the stage by the great satisfaction theory of Anselm. Although this theory is colored to a great extent by the feudalistic social mind out of which it grew, it has maintained itself to the present day. In Anselm's epoch-making work, *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why God Became Man"), man is represented as a vassal owing his Overlord, God, an infinite debt because his sin was against an infinite Deity. Unable to pay, the God-man assumes the debt, freeing man by giving adequate satisfaction. The Reformers built upon this foundation in their substitutionary theory. A contemporary of Anselm, Abelard, presented a theory which found scant favor in his day but which has won its way especially in liberal circles. It is called the moral influence theory, discards notions of equivalence and substitution, and stresses the fact that the sacrifice of Christ, symbolizing God's love, draws the sinner irresistibly away from sin and toward God. In this whole process of historical development we meet with no officially pronounced orthodox doctrine of the atonement.

2. Doctrine of God. Various ideas of God have

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[10] Such as the analogy of the mousetrap, or that God fooled the devil in the transaction.

held sway, from that of the most transcendent absolute or Oriental despot to that of a modernly elected president. For long periods the loving Father revealed by Jesus was represented as the awe inspiring Unapproachable. Gnostic and pagan influences are seen here. When a mystic arose claiming to have immediate personal communion with God, people wondered whether it could be true. They had been taught that God was to be approached only through the church and by means of priestly mediation. Wesley had that experience with church officials as late as the eighteenth century, when the orthodox and the free-thinkers alike entertained the Deistic notion of a far-away God with whom there is no immediacy of contact. When Calvinism arose it was essentially a theory of God, a theory which prevailed throughout Protestantism. As such it was orthodox. But the halo of orthodoxy and keenness of logic could not save it when the heart began to rebel and Christian experience began to teach differently. The idea of God's absolute sovereignty was a great idea in the minds of its supreme exponents. It served as a "mighty fortress" when Protestantism was fighting with its back to the wall against overwhelming odds. Having served that purpose it had to be modified if people were to continue to worship and serve God. In America the protest was voiced by Deists, Unitarians, Methodists, and others. The social mind of democracy seems to react against the conception of an arbitrary Deity, a conception that appeared perfectly proper when monarchs reigned supreme and by divine right. This change in man's thinking, be it understood, does not signify a constantly changing God. It implies, rather, a gradually enlarging and growing conception on man's part of the Eternal. Expanding horizons, due to science, to experience, and to thought, have made parts of the older ideas untenable.

3. Doctrine of Man. Theories regarding man

have undergone similar changes. In his teaching that the former could conquer the latter Jesus had recognized in man both good and evil tendencies. He recognized man's kinship with God and his natural ability to respond to the summons of high ideals. Some of the earlier Greek thinkers, like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria, likewise paid homage to the goodness inherent in human nature. Others were led to adopt more pessimistic views as to man's depraved nature. This was especially true of Latin theology. Political and social conditions within a decaying empire, disintegrating forces, and widespread disasters such as earthquakes and famines, were largely responsible for the change of emphasis. Beneath the pall of gloom and despair that was extending over the West during the last days of the Roman Empire, man as man seemed a hopeless creature. Tertullian's idea of physical taint associated with the procreation of souls, elaborated by Augustine in the doctrine of original sin and predestination, inclined the West in particular to believe that God and man had become alien, the one to the other. Depreciation of man's own powers lived on in some form until in Calvinism the doctrine of total depravity left natural man utterly bereft of any shred of goodness. It was declared that man's salvation could come only from without through the impartation of divine grace.

Ideas so depreciatory of the goodness of man's essential nature were not long left unchallenged. Drastic revision of the older notions was begun by the Socinians and the Arminians and carried through more consistently by the rationalists and the Unitarians. The latter groups exalted the once despised natural man until he found himself beyond recognition. Reaction here, as usual, went to extremes. During the heyday of the traditional view, the liberal conceptions were anathema. Now, with the spread of the liberal view, any suggestions in the direction of original sin or a tainted nature are usually proscribed. And yet, as Rauschenbusch has pointed out,[11] this is the outstanding doctrine of the individualistic gospel with real social implications. The truth embedded within, the generic aspect of evil and the social transmission of sin, ought not flippantly to be cast aside because of crude and discredited methods of presentation. Even more important is the fact that evil tendencies and propensities are present in human nature, which need to be controlled and reformed.

4. Individualism. Individualism in its various expressions made the gospel of the heart and of the emotions into a self-centered religion. It has much to its credit. It magnified Christianity as a religion of redemption through the person and the work of Christ. It did not slight the reality and malignity of sin nor the cost of its removal. Through it personal religion, grounded in an intimate fellowship and communion of the individual with his God, regained the primacy it had lost. It has demonstrated that love as well as logic leads to truth. But the ghost of inadequacy shadowed this conception. By its foes within and without the church, it has been charged with narrowness, sentimentalism, excessive emotionalism, and with responsibility for the divorce between faith and conduct. Its greatest neglect, speaking generally, has been its failure to see and stress the social aspects of religion. In that larger sphere which we usually call the social gospel, it has sometimes acted as a deterrent. If the full application of the gospel message to all relations of life is essential and in harmony with the teaching of Jesus, then the purely individualistic gospel is inadequate. If it can be said to slight an important element in that teaching, it may even be called heretical. The same truism holds when social service claims that

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[11] See *Theology for the Social Gospel.*

"mere social service" is all that there is to religion. The spiritual concern which is directed wholly outwards in humanitarian efforts must find its dynamic center, its warmth, its very heart, in the spiritual concern that is directed inwards. The facts of history abundantly show that the former without the latter is inadequate.

C. THE EXAGGERATION OF NEGLECTED TRUTHS

There are certain religious groups regarded by the commonalty in the church as outside the pale of Christian fellowship. Their doctrines are alleged to be subversive of the true faith; their pretensions to be the sole possessors of distinctive arcs of truth a piece of impertinence, if not blasphemy. The most significant of these, illustrating in each case a tendency, are Christian Science, Spiritualism, and New Thought.

1. Christian Science. Christian Science, founded by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy in the sixth decade of the last century, was a protest against the growing materialism of the age. It is the chief of a number of movements which lay great stress upon the healing power of mind or spirit. It has spread rapidly in America because the church, the Protestant Church in particular, had been negligent in presenting an all-inclusive message. One got the impression in many churches that religion had to do with the soul only, and that it, consequently, had no relation whatever with the physical nature of man. Bound up as it is with an impossible metaphysics, exaggerating one sector of religion out of all proportion to its importance, Christian Science belies its name. Like ancient Gnosticism[12] it contains untenable features and cannot pose as an adequate exposition of Christian truth and life. Its mission is not denied by these strictures upon its teaching and objectives. To its credit it has directed the attention of Christian people to the

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[12] See p. 898 for a comparative study.

power of suggestion, to the power of the mind over the body, and to the primacy of the spiritual.

2. Spiritualism. Spiritualism is a phenomenon which is found in different ages, but in 1848 its modern revival started with peculiar rappings in the home of the Fox family in Hydesville, New York.[13] These and similar phenomena were interpreted as communications from the spirit world, proving by well supported evidence, it is alleged, the reality of the future life and the possibility of departed spirits coming in touch with friends on earth. God is usually regarded as the Eternal Spirit in all things, and the future world as an extension of this with infinite possibilities of progression.

Again the emphasis is placed upon that which too often the church has taught without acting as if the belief were true. There may be a veil between this life and the next, but it need not be considered an impassable gulf. The human mind can be open to new truth in this field which, unfortunately, lends itself to necromancy and hocus-pocus, which with some of its exponents becomes the center and the circumference of religion. The witness of Spiritualism to the continuity of the spiritual life and its development Beyond may be taken as the kernel of the truth for which it stands.

3. New Thought. One of the results of our present-day pragmatic way of thinking is the whole propaganda of New Thought groups. It represents itself to be subjective practical idealism, a philosophy of life which claims to bring its devotees "in tune with the Infinite," stressing psychic control, harmony and health, and the optimism of faith. These cults promise to slay the tyrant fear which claims the lives of countless thousands. Even fear may be used as a fulcrum to drive one to higher attainments.

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[13] Similar phenomena occurred among the Shakers and, earlier, in the home of John Wesley.

This modern Epicureanism parades as religion, but its pantheism, its theosophical vagueness, its rosewater optimism which sees no sin and hates to look at stern reality, and its lack of appreciation for historic Christianity would seem to make its position quite insecure. The protest, however, came for a reason and to meet a definite need. The church very seldom made systematic efforts to utilize the tremendous powers locked up within the individual which suggestion often releases. A deeper knowledge of these psychic genii, at the service of him who knows, will avail to create in him a better integrated personality with its poise, peace, and power. Psychoanalysis, with a more scientific background, has traveled much along the same road.

What these newer movements lack is not merely a philosophy of history and a sense of historical development, but broad sympathies for the unfit and the socially oppressed. Where do we find in them a desire to meet the tremendous social issues of our day? Self-complacency, self-uplift, and self-culture, and success, health, and salvation for self, are all too pronounced in these cults to be brought into harmony with Christianity's basic teaching of self-denial for the sake of others. But for that segment of the good, the true, and the beautiful which these "heretics" of the present and the past have striven to realize, the church ought to be appreciative, humbly confessing its own halting, stumbling approach to and acceptance of the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

CHAPTER XXII

CHURCH DIVISIONS AND CHURCH UNION

FROM one parent trunk arising from the soil of Judaism, the church tree, to use a figure of nature, early sent out shoots and branches, each of which usually claimed to be the tree. In this early period the theory also rapidly gained ground that the Christian Church, under the guidance of Christ and the inspiration of the Spirit, must be one. After the first century it came to be called the Holy Catholic Church. It was universal, in theory at least, finding its unity in a common fellowship and, after the second century, in the common Rule of Faith and the episcopacy. Christ was Lord and Saviour; his spirit and teaching were held to be normative. A certain number of books, comprising in the large the books of the New Testament together with the Old Testament, were accepted as containing the authoritative message.

The question which concerns itself with the separations and schisms of an institution which was originally one has been partially answered in the chapter on heresy. Men separated because they thought differently on matters of doctrine which they deemed to be essential. To those who considered toleration of heresy a device of the devil, separation and schism became obligatory, if only to preserve the true doctrine and their own religious convictions. Many other factors entered in, as a survey of these breaks and divisions will show.

A. EARLY CHURCH OFFSHOOTS

1. Ebionite. The first branch that posed as the trunk of the church tree was the organization of the

Judaizing Christians who would exclude everything that was non-Jewish. In its narrow exclusiveness this Ebionite movement lived a precarious existence for a number of centuries, seeking to save its self-contained life. The life-giving sap went coursing effectively through the larger movement, which showed the greater affinity with the social mind of the age.[1]

2. Marcionite Church. The second branch was more sturdy, representing that semi-Gnostic ferment of the second century called to life by Marcion, the son of the Bishop of Sinope. This anti-Jewish and pro-Pauline thinker and organizer struck terror into the heart of the church by mixing heretical notions with an energetic reform program. Harnack claims that he was the only second-century thinker who understood Paul, and that he misunderstood him. Opposed to all legalism, hence his emphasis upon faith, he nevertheless incorporated in his system the Gnostic view of Christ (docetic), who, he claimed, revealed the Supreme God of love, Jehovah of the Old Testament being a lower Deity of justice. To give his views the sanction of tradition he compiled what was perhaps the first New Testament, an attenuated one at that, because it contained only a mutilated Gospel of Luke and some of Paul's Epistles. Propagated by an efficient machinery the Marcionite church lived on into the fifth century despite the measures of suppression adopted by the triumphant Catholic Church.

3. Montanism and Manichæism. Montanism[2] never became a separate church, although its teaching, anathematized by the bishops, would have logically led to dissent. Its simple organization, created to promote a prophetic ministry and give expression to a democracy of Christian believers, was finally

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[1] For a more comprehensive statement about Ebionitism see Chapter IV.

[2] See Chapter XXI.

crushed during the third century. The story of Manichæism is quite different both as to doctrine and influence. Never actually a part of the church it nonetheless claimed to be Christian. The movement began in Persia about the middle of the third century as a result of the preaching and the organizing ability of Mani. The Persian prophet preached his peculiar doctrine so effectively and organized his movement so efficiently that his church lived on, though its founder met a violent death at the hands of the government. It proved to be a real menace to the Christian Church because it harbored beneath the mask of a Christian name a mixture of Oriental dualism with its theory of evil inherent in matter. It also contained elements of magic together with a Gnostic plan of salvation which introduced Christ in a merely mechanical way as the light spirit. This spirit, it was taught, was capable of drawing the saving light (spirit) out of the material part of man, which was essentially evil. The culmination of this process meant salvation. Although the movement as a definite sect was not much in evidence after the fifth century, its ideas could not so easily be stamped out. We have seen how Augustine was caught in the meshes of the system. For the most part Manichæan notions lived an underground existence, breaking forth in a number of peculiar mediæval heresies of which the Cathari were the chief.

4. Novatianism and Donatism. Heretical practice as well as heretical belief caused serious divisions. Two schisms which threatened to become permanent arose for similar reasons. The question at issue in each case dealt with the treatment of those who had lapsed during severe persecutions.[3] A strict puritan party demanded a rigorous repentance by those who denied the faith. Novatian, a prominent theologian of Rome, represented this position in the third cen-

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[3] On the subject of persecution see Chapter IV.

tury immediately after the Decian persecution. He advocated the rigid exclusion of those guilty of mortal sin. This policy, however, did not meet with the approval of the milder papal position, which closed the doors of the all-inclusive church to no repentant sinner, however heinous his crime. Novatianism passed out of existence during the seventh century.

Donatus the Great, in the fourth century, soon after the Diocletian persecution, maintained that the validity of the sacraments was dependent upon the worthiness of its ministers. Baptism which was administered by a heretic or by one who had lapsed during the persecution could not be considered genuine. Donatism flourished in north Africa, in spite of the great polemics of Augustine and the severe persecutions of the imperial government, until the Mohammedan wave of conquest in the seventh century swept it away.

5. The Nestorian Church. When the Council of Ephesus condemned the patriarch Nestorius and his doctrine[4] in 431, it helped to create one of the most vigorous off-shoots the church has ever had. Although the later Council at Chalcedon (451) seemed to uphold the general position of Nestorius, his followers under a separate church government spread throughout the Orient, establishing missions in Persia, India, and China. At one time the Nestorian patriarch at Bagdad ruled a more populous and extensive area than the pope governed, but it almost perished under the successive shocks of the wild Asiatic hosts of Tamerlane and of the Mohammedan conquest. In small groups and colonies the Nestorian church still persists in Turkey, Persia, and India.

6. Monophysite Churches. A number of independent churches arose which subscribed to the one nature (Monophysite) theory of the person of Christ.[5] The

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[4] See Chapter XXI for discussion of Nestorianism.

[5] See Chapter XXI for a fuller discussion of this doctrine.

origin of the first of these, the Gregorian Church of Armenia, was due to the mission of Gregory the Illuminator, through whose labors in the latter part of the third century the first ruler of a country, King Tiridates, was won to the Christian faith. Late in the fifth century the Monophysite doctrines were officially accepted, making the Gregorian the largest church of that persuasion. The second church, and one that had its rise definitely in the doctrinal disputes concerning the nature of Christ, was the Coptic, with its home in Egypt. The patriarch of Alexandria (residing in Cairo) was its head. The third main group, the Jacobite, so called from its organizer, Jacob, became the outstanding church in Syria in the sixth century, though for centuries its home has been in the valley of the Tigris River, where lived the self-styled patriarch of Antioch.

7. Arian Christianity. Because Arianism[6] for a time controlled vast areas, dividing the church into two rival camps, it cannot be omitted in this discussion. It captured the seat of government, made life miserable for the orthodox, sent missionaries to a number of Teutonic tribes, spread its doctrines by means of song and preaching, and seemed at one time on the point of capturing the eastern half of the church. Its victorious march was brought to a halt largely by its own weakness coupled with the aggressive attack of orthodox thought and the drastic repressive measures of orthodox imperialism. Arianism vanished about as rapidly as it had appeared. In occasional outbursts in modern thought, we have the sole present-day evidence of its ancient historical existence.

8. The Paulicians. One of the fruits of the early amalgamation of Gnostic and Manichæan doctrines was the Paulician movement, which began in Asia Minor about 650, was later transplanted to Armenia

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[6] See Chapter XXI for a fuller discussion of this doctrine.

and then to western Europe. It divided into diverse groups, known under the names of Euchites, Bogomiles, or Bulgarians, but all doing homage to a pronounced dualism in thought and an extreme asceticism in practice. In their mystical inwardness they found no room for a hierarchy based upon the sacerdotal idea, and learned to their sorrow that the hierarchy of the church had no room for them. The Paulicians of the East were not pacifists and frequently struck back at their foes after invoking the god of war. In the West they were more peaceful and successful, and though perishing as a distinct sect, their ideas in a modified form lived on in the numerous Catharistic groups of the Middle Ages.

9. The Keltic Church. Before papal Rome had extended her sway over the West, Christianity had somehow come to the Kelts, a barbarian people living in England. The center of this church was, however, Ireland, the "Isle of Saints," which had been evangelized by Saint Patrick in the fifth century. Independent of Rome for several centuries, this church developed along slightly different lines. Its celebration of Easter was at a different time, its emphasis was more ascetic, the tonsure and dress of its monks were unlike the Roman. This intense missionary church extended its sway over Scotland, touched the Continent and seemed on the point of winning a good share of western Europe, when Rome under Gregory I (590-604) stopped its progress by counter missionary efforts. In England the conflict raged until the Council of Whitby, in 664, decided against the Irish and in favor of the Roman or orthodox faith. It was also a victory of the Christianized Teutonic element over the Keltic strain. The story is told that the king who presided at the council hesitated between the claims of Saint Columba (Irish) and those of Saint Peter, until the representative of the latter admonished the ruler to make terms with him who held the keys of heaven.

B. MEDIÆVAL SCHISMS

The twin principles of authority and unity which controlled the Middle Ages were sufficiently dominant to prevent the rise and development of any appreciable number of sects outside the orthodox church. One great schism alone rent the atmosphere of harmony that seemed to prevail, while in the West a series of parallel movements of social and doctrinal radicalism merely accentuated the solidity and oneness of the "One Holy Catholic Church."

1. The Great Schism of 1054. The bisection of Christendom into the Greek Orthodox Church and the Latin Catholic Church is usually dated in 1054, but the rift between the two sections was long in the making. It is not quite true to say that they never separated because they were never together, for during the first three or four centuries the consciousness of unity was strong. The spirit of unity found its concrete manifestation in the acceptance of a Rule of Faith and in the episcopate, at least after the second century. But the divergent interests of the two regions, their distinctive temperaments, and their diverse problems formed an entering wedge between the two, which breach widened with time.

The following causes contributed to the creation and the widening of the cleavage. (1) In the first place East and West represented two contrasting types. The former stressed speculation, theology, and orthodoxy, the latter magnified the practical interests, organization, and catholicity. (2) Oil was not poured upon the troubled waters by the papal claims to primacy which the East repudiated, nor by the superiority complex which the cultured Byzantine Empire exhibited toward the barbarian West. (3) To this must be added the final division of the Roman Empire (395), which increased the rivalry between Constantinople and Rome on the question of overlordship. (4) The insertion into a Western creed (Council of Toledo, 589) of the *filioque*[7] clause was an abomination to the orthodox East because it meant an addition to the authoritative Nicene creed. (5) The iconoclastic (image breaking) controversy in the eighth century divided East and West still further when the latter section through its pope, Gregory III, issued an edict against image-breakers, including in its scope the emperor at Constantinople, Leo the Syrian, who had inaugurated the campaign against the "idolatrous worship" of images and sacred relics. Although East and West later agreed on the proper use of images in worship, the ideal of a unified Christendom had received another shock. (6) Harmonious relations were further disturbed when the imperious pope, Nicholas I, about the middle of the ninth century, rudely interfered in favor of one of two rival claimants to the Constantinople patriarchate. Both sees likewise clashed in their mutual claims to jurisdiction over the newly founded Bulgarian Church.

Finally, in 1054, pope and patriarch excommunicated each other, which, in effect, placed both churches outside the pale of salvation. The occasion of this break, official and definitive, was the denunciation of Western errors in doctrine and practice (*filioque,* absolute priestly celibacy, use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, etc.) by the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius. This the pope, Leo IX, countered by anathematizing his accuser. The two chief attempts to reunite the two sections came to naught. One was made at the Council of Lyons in 1274, the other, with brighter prospects of success, came to a head at the Council of Florence in 1439. Although a number of compromises were agreed upon by the delegates from the

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[7] The phrase means "and from the Son," which would make the Nicene creed read, "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son."

Greek Church, they were not ratified by the government of the church. The hostility between Rome and Constantinople (and later Moscow) has not abated since that time.

2. Mediæval Sects. a. In the East. The Orthodox Greek Church, rooted in its traditional system, lived on for centuries without much change. She was awakened out of her monastic and theological slumbers, however, by a series of upheavals, such as the Mohammedan invasion, the Crusades, and the subsequent rise of Russia to patriarchal prerogative. In the latter country, where a pronounced nationalistic expression came to the front, a number of minor sects of a more evangelical and mystical type arose to contest with the main body for the allegiance of a deeply religious people.

b. In the West. The Latin Church dominated the West from the Great Schism (1054) to the Protestant Revolt (1517). It presented a united front and found its claims to absolutism challenged at first only by minor movements of a lay and mystical type, among the chief of which were the Waldenses and the Albigenses or Cathari. Our interest lies, not in their heresies[8] but in their independent attitude toward the hierarchy, which led in the case of the Waldenses to real separation, and in that of the Albigenses to suppression. This non-sacerdotal lay movement in the interests of an evangelical personal religion came forth in purer form in the Waldensian than in the Albigensian sectaries. The former differ from the latter also in the fact of their continued existence, through persecution, crusades, and interdict, down to the present time. Their significance lies in their approach to the Protestant positions, their preparation for that movement, and their witness, outside of the "only true church" to a real, vital, propagating Christianity. The "Poor Men of Lyons," founded by

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[8] See Chapter XXI for the heretical elements.

Peter Waldo or Valdez about 1177, were not anti-church, but pro-Christ and pro-Scripture. It was due to the unwise and intolerant attitude of the church that these earnest, simple missionaries of the faith were thrust out. A number of other movements of a similar nature were allowed to remain within the fold under strict supervision.[9]

C. Bisection of Western Christendom

Up to the time of the Protestant movement, Christianity in its Latin expression could look back upon a history that had been marvelously uniform and homologous. One of the results of the sixteenth century cleavage was the rapid growth of a large number of branches in the church tree of the modern period.

1. The Roman Catholic Church. The Mediæval Catholic Church now became technically the Roman Catholic with no further great separations to report. Beneath the surface, however, occasional rumblings indicated that an institution which prided itself upon being always the same, could not entirely restrain the forces of individualism and nationalism which the modern spirit had released. The spirit of individualism was represented in Jansenism and Quietism,[10] while nationalism found expression in the Gallican and Febronian movements.[11] Gallicanism in France and Febronianism in Germany were both tendencies which in their fruition might have led to the formation of national Catholic churches or at least to papal limitation by a permanent general council. Tradition and centralization, which ultimately overcame these tendencies so dangerous to

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[9] The Franciscan order was of this type, also the Friends of God, and the Brethren of the Common Life. The Lollards of England were definitely outside, never receiving ecclesiastical sanction.

[10] See Chapter XI.

[11] Gallicanism refers to the French nationalistic spirit. Febronianism, from the name of its promoter, Febronius, reflected the national spirit in German Catholicism.

Roman universalism, were not so successful in coping with the secession which came as a protest to the Vatican Council of 1870. This Old Catholic movement has never met with much success, although it claims to be the genuine channel of Catholic tradition. A final eruption upon the placid surface of Catholicism came in the form of Modernism, but its virtual suppression by the inevitable anathema has left the reactionary group known as Ultramontanism in complete control in Rome. Modernism may have a future in the Catholic Church, but it has no present standing.

2. Protestantism versus Catholicism. A survey of the Protestant movement and the Catholic reaction is given elsewhere.[12] Here only the briefest attempt can be made to get at the reasons for the break between Protestantism and Catholicism and the separatist tendencies in Protestantism. In the first place, let us consider the break with Catholicism. This separation has shown itself to be as destructive of church unity as the former Greek-Latin break. Protestantism came to form a separate division of the church because of a much-needed protest against abuses which seemingly could not have been remedied by milder methods. And yet Catholics claim that the great Council of Trent reformed the church and that reformation could have come without a break.[13] But Trent came fifty years too late, came, indeed, only after the victories of Protestantism had made drastic reform within Catholicism imperative. Besides, the question of its adequacy will not down. Moreover, the "divine right" of personal religion must needs be conserved against an overtowering institutionalism. Many other interests, noble and ignoble, social, economic, intellectual, and political, as well as selfish, grasping desires for personal

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[12] See Chapter IX.

[13] *Ibid.*

aggrandizement, entered in to make the break effective and permanent.

3. Protestant Denominations. Luther's dominant personality easily lent itself to the formation of a large body of followers. That this following should express itself within territorial limits was almost inevitable when we think of the political conditions of the day in Germany and in Scandinavia. This, with the Anglican, was the least extreme of the Protestant groups. Because of its marked nationalistic development and peculiar composite character Anglicanism, though forced to remain separate from Rome for political as well as for religious reasons, retained a large measure of traditional Catholicism. Some have suggested that its Catholic-Protestant make-up may serve a good purpose in helping to bridge the chasm which now yawns between the two great faiths, but as yet it has nourished a self-satisfaction which has been vocal for a re-unity virtually identical with itself.

A more drastic reform was that expressed in Calvinism, which allowed for a wider extension of the distinctive Protestant emphasis upon individualism. That also explains the greater diversity as it found expression in various denominations. Wherever individualism is not checked by the social factor or by considerations of the common good, or by the conception of historical continuity as applied to the church, divisive tendencies will be present. A final group, not satisfied with half-way measures, advocated still more drastic reforms, intellectual, social, and religious. These were the Anabaptists and Socinians. All these general movements, with the exception of the Socinians, broke simultaneously from the Mediæval Catholic Church and are not to be considered as secessions from one another or from some mythical original Protestantism. Dissimilar elements went into their making; dissimilar results came out of the process.

4. Sectarianism in America. America has the doubtful honor of being the home of many denominations. The church tree in its American growth exhibits a veritable Brazilian jungle of branches. Included in the two hundred or more different religious communions are a dozen or more varieties each of the Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations. Some of the groups are to be accounted for by the transplantation of European diversities; the greater number, however, are home grown. To enumerate all the causes would be the equivalent of calling upon each group to give the reason for its existence. Differences in race, language, creed, emotional and intellectual attitudes; differences between strict and loose constructionists, conservatives and liberals; differences regarding reform movements and social issues, such as slavery; differences in the practical matters of organization, which sometimes allowed dissatisfied individuals to hide behind the smoke screen of an issue—these and other causes conspired to make this country the happy hunting ground of the sects. In addition, as one writer suggests,[14] a host of sideshows have sprung up because the main tent failed to do justice to all the facts of our complex religious life.

D. CHURCH UNION

The impassioned prayer of Christ "that they may be one" appears strangely futile in the face of the disunity of Christendom in which sects have sometimes "fought each other in the name of the Lord." Realizing the weakness inherent in the division of forces and feeling more poignantly the tragedy of a seriously divided Christianity, an increasing number of church leaders are looking toward real co-operation and federation, if not organic union. Co-operation has come haltingly in mission fields, more slowly still in world enterprises and causes of moral reform. The very immensity of the task has forced the problem of union upon Christians. Steps in this direction were taken in the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; in the proposals of organic union made by various denominations; and in the actual consummation of such union in 1925 by the three leading churches of Canada, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, and the Congregational. Japan now has Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and Baptist Churches co-extensive with the nation. China is making overtures toward the creation of a national Christian Church out of the heterogeneous welter of conflicting groups. Copec[15] for England, Stockholm for a large part of the Christian world forces, and the conferences at Lausanne and Jerusalem for virtually all Christendom with the exception of Roman Catholicism, have suggested a possible unity without uniformity. Much in the way of actual accomplishment may not have been gained, but a deeper sense of the issues involved, a keener appreciation of the differences in doctrine and practice to be comprehended, a more just appraisal of the concrete difficulties which stand in the way, such as the nature of the walls which separate the churches—all these have been gained. Where Christ is, there must be unity of spirit if not of organization.

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[14] C. R. Brown, in *Faith and Health.*

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[15] The word is formed from Council on Politics, Economics, and Citizenship.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT UPON THE CHURCH

A. The Environment of the Church

We have seen how the original church tree thrust out branches, some of which sustained only a tenuous relation with the parent trunk. Using another figure from nature, we may regard the extension of the church through the centuries as a mighty river system into which from time to time and from varying climatic surroundings and differing atmospheric conditions tributaries flowed with their distinctive contributions. As each inflowing river or rivulet empties its waters into the main stream the latter flows on with the added waters and sediment. It is the same stream and yet different. After the muddy Missouri flows into the Mississippi the latter takes on a different color. The life-giving and idea-receiving stream of organized Christianity assumes a different color, presents itself in a slightly different light, after each additional reception of environmental influence.

The incorporation of these elements was to be expected if the church was to ward off stagnation. A total rejection of environmental factors would have been impossible even if it had been attempted. It is quite erroneous to say that the church rejected nothing and adopted everything. A more exact appraisal is that the church adopted a vast amount from its surroundings, its foes, its changing habitats, and its contact with economic, social, political, intellectual, and spiritual currents and cross-currents of life. We may liken the history of the church to a train into which, as it travels through the centuries, a multitude of vari-colored articles are cast. Some of that baggage of ideas and customs in time becomes worthless, some of it may retard the progress of the train, and some even change the original destination.

In the presentation of this phase of our study we must be prepared to meet un-Christian expressions of Christianity, which at times denied the very Spirit of Jesus. We may also expect to meet fuller and broader unfoldings and interpretations which tend to throw additional light upon the essential meaning of the whole movement. Christianity as an historical movement cannot be judged merely by its beginnings in the first century; it must be judged likewise by the developments, tendencies, defects, and contributions of the whole historical process. This approach does not invalidate the authority of Jesus. He remains the norm by which the whole is to be tested.

B. THE ANCIENT PERIOD

1. Jewish Influences. The first immediate environmental factor was the Jewish. The seed of Christianity was planted in Jewish soil. Judaism itself was not without alien ingredients. The subsoil contained Oriental religious ideas with their pronounced dualistic conceptions, superimposed upon which was an infiltration of Greek thought and ideals. Hebraism was, however, quite self-contained and at first determinative in molding its vigorous offspring. We have thus, first of all, a Judaized Christianity, founded by a Jew in a Jewish atmosphere, and existing in the thought of many for the Jews.

As a Jewish religious movement Christianity naturally embodied within itself the rich religious achievements of Judaism.[1] Indeed, it was held by some adherents to be a more thoroughgoing Mosaism. The influence of this extreme Judaistic group,[2] however, was not lasting. Had its ideal been realized, the church would have remained a strictly Jewish synagogue affair. As it was, the new spirit could not be contained within the trammels of a narrow legalistic Hebraism, however much indebted to the nobler religious ideals and concepts of that remarkable race. The essence, the ideas, the heart of spiritual Judaism transcended the framework in which they were clothed, and broke forth, as it were, in a new body. In other words, the best of the old prophetic message, its intense yearning for God, its passionate love for man, and its vision of social justice lived on, not so much in orthodox Judaism, as in its child, the heterodox Christian Church, which continued to bear the marks of its Jewish origin in its doctrines and in some of its customs.

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[1] See Chapter II for fuller discussion.

[2] Generally known as Ebionites.

The outstanding Jewish gift to the new cause, next to the person of Jesus, was monotheism. Jewish thinking found the idea of transcendence congenial and in the religious-philosophic system of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo (20 B. C.—50 A. D.), the Logos (Word) was affirmed to be the expression, the eternal image of the Transcendent Being. The doctrine of the Messiah was distinctly Jewish; the sacred book, which connected the new with the old, was likewise Jewish. Christianity could appear as a new resplendent phenomenon and yet be as old as God's revelation. Unfortunately, an Old Testament legalism fastened itself upon the church as a phase of a reaction against certain radicals like Marcion, who wished to banish entirely the sacred book of the Jews. Another untoward influence was the avid acceptance of the allegorical method of interpretation in order to explain the Old Testament to the Gentiles.

In the era from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D. a large amount of apocalyptic literature flooded the world. In spite of its lurid coloring and vivid descriptions of catastrophe, its promise of a coming deliverance and the establishment of a new social order at the advent of the Messiah put iron into the blood of the oppressed. In its Christian form, known as chiliasm, it prophesied that the second coming of Christ would usher in the millennium upon the ruins of the pagan world powers. This literature, at the head of which stands the Apocalypse of John, not only served as a spiritual tonic but in those crucial early days it declared for the principle that in the conflict between Cæsar and Christ, the latter must have the right of way. On the other hand, it tended to promote the prevalent belief in the powerful influence in this world of both angels and devils. The mundane activity of these spirit beings was doubted by none, even the pagan having his demons.

In the ethical realm Jewish influence left a mark, of which the book of James is a good example. Its noble ethics, its emphasis upon doing right, is typically Jewish, for the Jew always wished to know what to do in order to be saved. This attitude caused him as a usual thing to disparage the mystical, the possibility of a more intimate fellowship with God by faith. The sublime ethics found in Saint James cannot blind us to his deficiency in the distinctive Christian teaching so clearly expressed in his fellow Jew, Saint Paul. More of that teaching likewise came to the front with the influx of Gentiles, notably the Greeks, who wanted to *be* something in order to be saved.

2. Greek Influence. Although the church began as a Jewish institution, it developed more definitely after the first century as a Greek institution.[3] He-

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[3] "Only very imperfectly do we yet understand the process by which a young, proscribed creed, transplanted from the land of its birth to the abodes of men of alien thought and of alien institutions, in the teeth of relentless edicts, without as yet settled doctrines, a settled canon—apart from the Old Testament—or settled organization, became a homogeneous force which the Roman Empire could not overthrow, and with which the culture of the world was bound to come to terms." (Workman, H. B., *Christian Thought to the Reformation*. Pp. 4, 5.)

braism had performed its mission; Hellenism was now to begin its subtle work. Through its influence upon the Jews of the Dispersion Hellenism had already indirectly touched the church. Through men like Stephen and Paul, the contact was more intimate. The conversion to the new faith of thinkers like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria paved the road for the triumph of Greek culture in the church. A final and an exceptional influence came through the medium of Platonism revived in the direction of mysticism.

Some there are who feel that this process was one of degeneration, a defection from the primitive faith, a "progressive obscuration of the truth."[4] Others maintain that the assimilation of Greek learning was a necessary step in the enlargement of the primitive faith and was unavoidable if the world's intellect was to be won along with its heart. The second view appears the more plausible, provided we allow for demerit as well as for merit. As a matter of fact, the church assimilated the evil with the good, as this seemed to be the only way of getting the good. Critical discrimination seemed no more prevalent then than it is now.

In its emphasis upon a rational approach to all problems of life the Greek spirit brought to the church a greater appreciation of reason. Man as man received larger consideration and a comprehensive synthesis of the whole life was attempted, at least by the philosophic minds of the Alexandrian school. But his dependence upon subtle argument often brought the Greek to the position where he identified approved formulations of doctrine with faith itself. This attitude led to the fatal identification of essential Christianity with dogma. Instead of being a life that was to be lived the Greek too frequently made it a doctrine which was to be believed. Believing certain opinions about Christ, for instance, thus appeared of greater consequence than living the Christ-like way. It was in such an atmosphere that the great doctrinal controversies were born and nourished.

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[4] The words of Pfleiderer in his adverse criticism of Harnack's view.

Salvation came to be regarded as a divinizing of human nature. By this the Greek Christian meant that man's nature, naturally corrupted by sin, was made divine. This was effected through a religious experience in contact with the Infinite, or, as increasing numbers began to feel, through the magical efficacy of the sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. Usually this contact with the Divine was interpreted in a metaphysical sense. In his vital concern for an experience that would transform his corruptible human nature, the Greek was apt to neglect the ethical emphasis. Individual experience was such a tremendous fact in his religious life, that it obscured the importance of ethical conduct and social righteousness.[5]

Platonic idealism and Aristotelian realism and the Stoic moral ideas all left their impress upon the church. Doctrines were shaped (Trinity, Logos, immortality, person of Christ, etc.); a general consensus known as orthodoxy was established; religion itself was recast in a philosophical mold; and the church made receptive to the highest thinking of the age. That Christianity in time came to be regarded as synonymous with culture was due to those Christian minds who could say with Clement of Alexandria: "The way of truth is one; but into it as into a perennial river streams flow from all sides."[6] The Hellenization of Christianity was not a total loss; it was, rather, the adaptation of the primitive faith to the ancient world of thought in which it was forced to live.

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[5] It is not difficult to point to some notable exceptions, such as Clement of Alexandria and Chrysostom. See Chapter XXIV.

[6] Quoted in Workman, "Christian Thought to the Reformation," p. 44.

3. The Influence of Gnosticism. While the stream of Hellenism was flowing into the "perennial river" of Christianity, Gnosticism, a tributary of the former, was also casting its waters into the latter. Gnosticism powerfully affected thought. In its highest forms it sought to bring all truth, Christian truth included, into one harmonious system. In its Christian expression it sought to relate Christianity with the highest thought of the day. Though condemned and ultimately crushed, the spirit of Gnosticism lived on, not only in orthodox Christianity but in heretical and bizarre movements, of which Christian Science may serve as an example. Both profess superior knowledge (*gnosis*) of an esoteric nature; both posit God as impersonal spirit, having no contact with matter; in both systems it is the metaphysical Christ, not the earthly Jesus, who saves; and finally, the saving emancipation of spirit from matter is proclaimed, Christian Science even denying the reality of the latter. The later system was not in direct causal relation with the earlier one, but the similarity of their answers to the deep problems of life is indeed obvious.

Christianity was gnosticized in the following particulars: (1) In the growing belief that evil resided in the material, a fertile soil for the sprouting of the plant of asceticism; (2) in the tendency to place God far off which, in turn, made the need for intermediaries such as the saints more urgent; (3) in the emphasis upon a secret teaching or saving knowledge which the church alone possessed; (4) in the docetic conception of the person of Christ; (5) in the superficial division of people into the elect and the nonelect, the saved and the unsaved. A careful study of the church in the Middle Ages will reveal the origins of some of the peculiarities of that age which appear to us so subversive of the essentials of the Christian faith.

4. Influence of Manichæism. A more homogeneous and more highly organized system than Gnosticism was its twin brother, the dualistic Persian cult. Through Augustine primarily, and through various minor sects, Manichæism cast its spell upon much of Christian thought. In part it merely accentuated what Gnosticism had already given. One result was a more thorough dualism which gave Augustine's doctrine of original sin, generally disapproved in the East, a lease of life in the West. A fatalism which doomed some men by the very material constitution of their natures found its counterpart in predestination which reached the same end by the decree of Deity. In the so-called Catharistic sects of the Middle Ages Manichæism found its classic expression and its main field of operation. Despite the severest persecution and the use of the most drastic inquisitorial methods by the church, persecutor and persecuted were bound to influence each other.

5. Mystery Religions. Similarity of movements is frequently the cause of the most intense hostility between them. Often, too, this similarity serves as a channel through which influences pass from one to the other. Both hostility and influence are apparent as we view Christianity on the background of the Mystery cults. The influence of the latter upon the former was not so much direct as it was indirect, but it was there nevertheless. It is safe to say that these cults made for a greater emphasis upon ritualism, upon rites of a deeper sacramental mystery. Heaven and hell, already stressed by the Jewish apocalyptic literature, became more concrete realities. The church came to be regarded in a more marked way as a saving mystery religion in whose fellowship by a process of secret initiation the devotee would find salvation. Salvation itself implied becoming a part of the Divine. What is known as priestcraft was un-

doubtedly promoted. Some elements may have been directly borrowed, such as the practice of celebrating Christmas on December 25, the date which had signalized the rebirth of the great sun-god of Mithraism. In fact, the church sometimes consciously borrowed pagan customs and rites to make the transition from one faith to the other easier. Ready assimilation of worth-while elements sometimes proves quite effective in undermining the opponent's positions. Christianity may be said to have offered the world the best that the Mystery cults had to offer, offered it in a better form, and centered it in the most vital personality of history. The best religion thus lived on because it deserved to live on—while the Mystery cults decayed and eventually disappeared.

6. The Influence of Rome. After the early days, the outstanding development of the church took place in the West. It was in the West that the genius of Rome left its most abiding impress. With the gradual downfall of the ancient empire we find another institution as gradually assuming the reins of power. It was the church, a church which through the process became as thoroughly institutionalized and imperialized as the former mistress of the world had been. It was perfectly natural, unavoidable, and we might add, for that day, profitable, that the development should have been of this character.

The influence of Rome is seen first of all in the building up of an institution, mighty, imposing, and all dominating. This new empire, like the ancient one, came to be regarded as primary, existing in its own right, and not as a mere means for the uplift and salvation of the individual. It was held to be universal. There could be only one church, as there had been only one empire. Unity and uniformity were characteristic and essential features of this church, culminating in him who presided over its destinies. Thus, in place of Cæsar, we have the pope; in place of the imperial law, we have the canon law of the church; in place of Rome's legions, we have the new Rome's papal emissaries, monks and priests. As the one was the supreme example of the city of man, so the other was the embodiment of the city of God. In the glowing vision of the great Latin Father, Augustine, the former, representing the secular sphere of life, was destined to decrease with the extension of the latter, which was the quintessence of moral and spiritual reality. This kingdom of God is the church, its ruler the representative of heaven on earth. All who wish to be saved must be loyal to this institution, obey its laws and precepts, and partake of its sacraments. Since the institution is one and obedience the paramount duty of the individual, it follows that schism is the worst heresy. The traitor to his native country, the church, to which he owes absolute allegiance, is guilty of the most heinous sin. A new voice was speaking, but it was the old voice of Rome. The papal alchemist transmuted the burning of incense to the emperor into paying homage to the Vicar of Christ; he ultimately changed the ancient custom of emperor-worship into one which bordered on papal adoration. Cæsar was dead; the pope was alive.

Latin influence was predominant in the realm of thought, only suggestions of which can be traced. An elaborate legalistic system came into the church with fine gradations of merit and demerit, satisfactions and equivalents, and with its underlying idea that morals and religion could be established by law. These forensic ideas thoroughly permeated mediæval thought. Doctrines, such as Anselm's great satisfaction theory of the atonement, were set forth in legal terms. We have noted the creation of a vast system of ecclesiastical law modeled after the Roman code and for a time virtually superseding it in the regulation of civil life in the West. Although ancient Rome left as a heritage the triple evils of war, slavery, and officialism, they were of less importance than was the great contribution of a life regulated by law, notwithstanding the abuse to which this was subject.

C. THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

1. Teutonic Contributions. The barbarian invasions brought in elements which counteracted and neutralized the Roman. The fierce spirit of personal liberty acted as an irritant. It injected into the leveling, standardized, Romanized solidarity—certainly much needed during the Dark Ages—a ferment which kept the individual from fading entirely out of the picture. Individualism, together with the introduction of a more virile human strain, was the chief contribution of the Teutons. When the chaos of unending strife threatened society itself with extinction, this strain united with the older Roman to produce feudalism. The Roman principle of solidarity found means to utilize and subordinate to itself the Teutonic principle of individualism. The church, with its universal language, the Latin, its universal law, its uniform doctrine, and its sole head, was in a position to keep the disintegrating forces in check. But in the process the church itself became feudalized.

The effects of Teutonic feudalism are noticeable first of all in the mixture of paganism and Christianity. This amalgam constituted the church of the Middle Ages. The stupendous task of accommodating the faith and doctrine to the untutored minds of the barbarians resulted in a lowering of Christian standards. For this accommodation—considered necessary if that age was to be won—in one of its aspects resulted in the partial barbarization of the church; in the other, in the feudalization of the church.

In the introduction and elaboration of the system of the penitentials, the Teutonic practice of commuting the misdeed by some form of payment, money or otherwise, was adopted. In its extreme form it made room for all the abuses of the later indulgence system. Barbarian religious customs and rites and beliefs were sometimes adopted, given Christian names and filled with Christian content. The Teutons became Christian, though too often it was paganism with a Christian veneer. Furthermore, its evil results are seen in the appeal to fear and in the feeling that was engendered in the heart of the layman that he could not deal directly with God. The church, the institution against which he committed sin, alone possessed the mechanism by which he might be cleansed and saved.

Feudalism was regulated by certain crude laws, but its spirit was a spirit of force and aggressiveness, finding expression in the principle that might makes right. That the church tempered this with its great gospel of mercy and love cannot be denied, but very often the gospel was smothered beneath a mass of feudal obligations. Feudalism left its impress upon the church in a number of ways. In the first place, the aristocracy of sacerdotalism now thoroughly displaced the democracy of the priesthood of all believers. When church dignitaries became feudal lords, they caused the ecclesiastical system to become more completely hierarchical. In the second place, the church in its official capacity frequently baptized militarism, giving it legal standing in society. Henceforth organized Christianity gave support, though grudgingly at times, to warlike aggression. That these crusades were called holy does not materially alter the fact. And finally, defense and illustration of doctrines were set forth in feudal garb—God as overlord, man as vassal, sin as a debt, salvation as the payment of the equivalent.

2. Mohammedan Influence. We have already seen that the vast, composite, developing Christian life-stream embodied within itself all sorts of elements out of the various social and mental strata through which it passed. Not the least of these elements,

though incorporated unconsciously by the church, was the Mohammedan. Contact was mediated not merely through the Crusades, but in the less pretentious but more effective infiltration of Saracenic culture. In the universities of the Saracens and Moors Christian scholars "found" Aristotle, discovered scientific material not otherwise obtainable, and imbibed a culture and mental alertness lacking in the feudalized West. One of the roots of the later Renaissance movement can be traced to Islamic culture. Not only were milder and more refined customs introduced, but the utter transcendence ascribed to Deity in the one had some effect upon its emphasis in the other movement. The iconoclastic controversy was partly due to the taunts of Mohammedans that Christians worshiped idols. Papal autocracy benefited by the destruction of the Eastern patriarchates by Islam, and perhaps by the latter's assumption of infallible authority.

C. THE MODERN PERIOD

1. The Renaissance or Humanism. After the extraneous culture of the Saracens had left its mark upon the church, another culture, almost equally foreign, the ancient classic, began its transforming work upon Christianity. Though the Renaissance was not originally a religious movement, in its rediscovery of the ancient literature, art, and philosophy, it uncovered a deep spiritual content which the new spirit of reawakened Western Europe could not fail to detect and then utilize for the enrichment of life. The effects upon the church were revolutionary and, on the whole, beneficial. The Renaissance broke the chains that Scholasticism had forged; it loosened the stranglehold of priestcraft, and cast doubts upon the ecclesiasticism of the mediæval church. In the resurrection of the critical spirit, after its long disuse, a weapon was forged that would no longer permit

the individual to be forced into an attitude of unquestioning obedience to absolute authority.

The positive effects of humanism were as potent as the negative. In place of the world-denying ethic which had been the dominant one for many centuries, the church awoke to the significance and worth of a world-affirming ethic. Ancient Greece began to live again in the new appreciation of this world, of nature, and of natural man himself. Never again could the extreme asceticism of the monk monopolize the deepest content of religion, for religion began to be conceived in terms other and far wider than those of a narrow other-worldliness. The humanized church not only found its interests greatly extended, but also discovered religious values where hitherto they could not be found. The union of this critical and liberal humanism with an intense and individualistic mysticism produced Protestantism. Although both great sections of the church ultimately repudiated humanism, its influence could not summarily be shaken off. One of its greatest victories lay in the extension of ideas and ideals so strongly endowed with vitality that no barriers set up by a narrow ecclesiasticism could confine or check. As a result, humanism has since occupied a prominent, if not honored, place in the minds of many church people, those of the Protestant persuasion in particular.

2. Rationalistic Tendencies. Restraint upon free thought having been broken by both humanism and Protestantism, no efforts on the part of the latter to check some of the forces let loose could stem the onrushing tide. Wave after wave of rationalistic thought dashed over the ramparts, hastily erected, to find in the larger terrain beyond a more settled and stable existence. That everything of value would escape destruction could not be expected. That some things of doubtful value took their place could hardly be avoided. A materialistic world view, for instance, opened the doors to skepticism especially as regards

the historical forms of religion. But that a much-needed work was accomplished in the removal of objectionable traditional elements, no one can deny.

The mention of a number of these elements will suffice to illustrate the nature of this negative work of rationalism, or the Enlightenment, as it was called in Germany. Reference has been made to the baggage which the church train gradually accumulated in its journey through time and space. Rationalism felt, and rightly so, that some of this was not of the essence of religion. Consequently, its exponents railed against the iniquities associated with priestcraft and the puerilities connected with superstition. It sought to break down the tyranny which church or dogmas were exercising over the human mind. It sought to break the spell of traditionalism as such, claiming that much of it was irrational, and on that ground to be rejected. The proofs of the Christian religion, no longer based on miracle or prophecy, had to be found elsewhere.

Inspired by the new scientific spirit, rationalism placed everything, religion itself, before the bar of the human reason. Thus it may be termed the effort to derive the essential in life, in religion, in knowledge, from reason. Man could satisfy his longing for God, the argument ran, through natural reason; he did not need an additional supernatural revelation. God has given man sufficient moral power and will to fulfill his moral and religious duties. Natural religion, therefore, is universal, "as old as creation," it is the "naked gospel"[7] separated from all the excrescences which have made it so mysterious and incompatible with reason.

Weak in its unhistorical approach, its negative, destructive methods, its inordinate optimism, its pure intellectualism, its identification of religion with morality, and its antipathy for the mystical, rationalism nevertheless performed a mission in forcing the church to place less weight upon the nonessential matters of creed and ritual and more upon the essential—the inculcation of the Christ spirit. Irrational beliefs, it would seem, can never again assume the importance they did in the past. The church has been taught that the faith that overcomes must be a combination of a sane rationalism and a fervid mysticism, or a sanctified intelligence guiding an intelligent piety.

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[7] *Christianity as Old as Creation* and *The Naked Gospel* were titles of books written by prominent Deists in England.

3. The Impact of Modern Science. Undoubtedly, the most significant of modern inflowing streams of thought is that of science. Into its history we cannot enter. That it has affected the life and the thought of the church tremendously is known to everyone. Its emphasis upon the observation and correlation of facts, its promotion of scientific accuracy, its doctrine of the supremacy of law, its law of continuity, its theory of evolution, have all entered into the very fiber of modern thought. At each stage of this developing science, from astronomy through geology, biology, and other fields down to psychology, the conflict has raged as older views, presumably based upon the Scriptures, were felt to be imperiled. When it was discovered that the Scriptures were written primarily for a religious and not for a scientific purpose, many of the objections to the tenets of science fell by the wayside. Now many churchmen accept the approved results of scientific investigations while science, more humbly realizing its own limitations, looks with greater favor upon religion.

This discovery of a "new heaven and a new earth" caused the church to revise some of her conceptions though the revision, in the nature of the case, was not uniform throughout the church. Liberal thought generally has reconstructed its theology on the basis of the new light. The Copernican theory made necessary a change in man's view regarding the centricity of this earth. The Newtonian law of gravitation made him rewrite his thoughts of God in relation to law. The earth's strata told a story about creation that demanded untold ages for its formation. Broader views of man and nature called for a conception of Deity indwelling in humanity and nature. A deeper insight into man's own nature necessitated rethinking the doctrine of divine inspiration. The theory of evolution modified traditional views of sin, its origin and its retribution. Historical criticism, when reverent and constructive, gave a new Bible, divine and human, sufficient for life, and immune against attack. And what about prayer, miracles, immortality, in the light of immutable law? The solution of these as well as of other problems depends upon a clear distinction being kept between the respective fields of religion and science, as well as upon the co-operation of mutually respected exponents of each. Except in its mechanistic forms, science has not hurt the cause of religion. Indeed it has helped to make religion more vital, more human, more natural, and more dependable, because grounded in the unfailing laws of God.

4. Democracy and Social Movements. In every age we may distinguish social movements, strivings for greater democracy and humanitarian uplift, but in the modern period this is particularly true. We may even call democracy and the "social movement" children of the present age. Though one root of this movement may be found in the primitive Christian teaching of the supreme worth of man in the sight of God, other roots are found in the humanistic emphasis on man's worth as a citizen of this world, in the rationalistic stress upon the sovereignty of man's reason, and in the humanitarian slogan of the absolute value of each human life. Another contributing factor was the struggle for political liberty. All of these have more or less worked in harmony, and together have influenced the church, as they in turn have been

touched by the Christian spirit. The great Labor Movement, arising from the introduction of power machinery, was perhaps the greatest single factor in bringing the masses to the front. Living in the vast number of currents and cross currents resulting from the interplay of all these forces, the church was bound to be affected.

One of the first results was the emphasis which the church began to place upon the ethical rather than upon the doctrinal, upon right living rather than upon correct thinking. This brought the matter of experience to the front and sent authoritarianism and legalism into the background. Then came the mighty social upheaval, the Industrial Revolution, which forced the application of a full social gospel upon the church. Without discarding the personal mystical expression of religion, it was now seen that essential religion demanded also the ethico-social application of the gospel. As Christianity had been made more rational, so now it became more social and democratic, exhibiting a greater interest in all the social, economic, political, national, international, and interracial problems, which always contain moral and spiritual elements and hence must come within the province of the church's thought.

5. The Oriental Influence. The extension of Christianity into all parts of the world has brought upon it from each region an easily perceptible influence. Since the Oriental influence appears the most potent at the present time, it may be regarded as typical. Endowed with a world vision, intent upon world conquest, aggressive and militant, sectarian and paternalistic, the church, through contact with a deeply religious, highly sensitive, and cultured Orient, has experienced a shock that was at first distressing. For Western Christianity was told to sever its close connections with a semipagan civilization which was based upon force. It was shown a better way than the promotion of sectarianism and selfish interests.

And, finally, it received more light upon the possibilities of dependence upon purely spiritual forces. Judging from past history, the introduction of this new element will eventually secure the development of a real Christianity of all mankind, the contemplative, brooding spirit of the East uniting with the practical, energetic West in producing a full-orbed church of the universal Christ.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY UPON ENVIRONMENT

WE must now attempt to weigh the world's obligation to the church and the effects of the Christ spirit on human progress. These two aspects of the problem are not identical, for the organized church frequently obscured and occasionally denied the spirit that was in Christ. Lack of space will prevent adequate acknowledgment of civilization's debt to other factors. Reference to these must be made, however, in order to place the Christian influence in the right perspective.

A. THE CHURCH IN THE GRÆCO-ROMAN WORLD

It is sometimes charged against the church that its advent into the ancient world accelerated the decay of that world; that it developed into a self-centered institution with little or no regard for the saving of the social order. There are a number of reasons why the church failed both in its apprehension of the Kingdom message of the Founder and in the realization of that message in the world. The free religious movement narrowed into a cult with little interest in the general cultural advance of mankind. Chiliastic expectations placed the kingdom ideal in the future. To this must be added the attitude of aloofness on the part of the Christians themselves. Despite these limiting factors the creative new spirit made itself felt in circles beyond the small communion of believers. In this socially transforming influence the answer to our question lies: what difference did the coming of Christianity make in the social environment and mental world of the ancient period?

1. The Life of the Christians. If we admit that the adoption of the new faith made for better men and women, their mere increase in numbers must have had a stimulating effect. The ideal embodied in the conception, "The tabernacle of God is with men,"[1] helped to create an abiding fellowship which constantly kept the leavening idea of moral progress and spiritual uplift before the minds of men. Social and economic implications were early embedded in the Christian propaganda, brief and practical maxims controlled the lives of the believers, and a loving communism in goods was actually practiced for a time. In this fellowship the principle seems to have been, each for all and all for each, none to lack and all to find opportunity for making a living as well as making a life, which is an ideal that no amount of change or complexity of social evolution can nullify or discredit.

That Christians made progress in the fine art of living together can be seen in a comparison of Paul's letter to the Corinthian church with that of Clement of Rome to the same church. Although the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, it does suggest that within one generation at the close of the first century, in one church communion, certain social evils seem to have been eradicated, factional strife appears to have been modified, and doctrinal and spiritual harmony maintained. That the influx of greater numbers in later periods from the pagan and mystery cults brought disturbing and even pernicious elements into the church cannot be denied. The marvel is that the initial creative impulse, the transforming spiritual influence, was sufficiently potent to absorb these heterogeneous elements and combine them into one dynamic whole which became the saving agency of the ancient world.

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[1] Rev. 21. 3.

2. Influence upon the Home. The smallest circle of social life, the home, then as now, needed support and stood in need of reform. The despotic power wielded by the father, legalized by Roman law, began to disintegrate and soften under the influence of Christian teaching, though Stoic influence had prepared the ground for this humanizing process. Wife and children gradually received those rights of human beings which are characteristic of modern life in the Western world. The elevation of woman from the position of chattel or slave to that of equality with man was in part due to Christian teaching. In this connection it is suggestive to compare her position in the two branches of the Aryan race, the Hindu and the European. It is in the latter that respect for woman has most rapidly increased, that the loftier ideal of marriage is most strenuously maintained. When the two partners were regarded as equal before God a truly spiritual partnership was possible. The permeation of society by Christian principles and the later enactments by Christian emperors made some inroads into the divorce evil. The legislation against concubinage also met with indifferent success.

The practice of enforced celibacy, undoubtedly an evil in its general effect, can be understood when viewed as a concrete protest against the prevailing immorality of the times. By teaching and ascetic practice it was hoped that these immoral and unnatural vices might be overcome.[2] Extreme asceticism and clerical celibacy at least served to direct attention by exaggeration to a life of purity, though the disparagement of marriage which they implied militated against a wholesome view of life.

The lot of the child improved under Christian tutelage. Whereas child exposure, infanticide, and child maiming had been condoned by public opinion, a change began to appear. Church Fathers thundered against the evil practices, while state and church by the stern mandate of law and the establishment of foundling hospitals, sought to prohibit the selling of children into slavery and prostitution. One of the brightest stars in the crown of Christian achievement, nobly abetted by the highest Stoic teaching, was the increased consideration shown to helpless and persecuted childhood during the Roman period.[3]

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[2] Many historians believe that Paul's account in the first chapter of Romans is not overdrawn.

3. Slavery. At first blush the attitude of the church toward the iniquitous institution of slavery appears in a disappointing light. The Stoic influence upon legislation in mitigating the lot of the slaves is bright in contrast. The Christian conscience awakened all too slowly to the incompatibility of the moral equality of men implicit in the gospel teaching and the degrading servitude implicit in slavery. In a few instances only was emancipation inculcated as a Christian duty. That the slave was frequently treated like a brother in Christ aside from his condition of servitude and not as a mere animated machine was a step in advance. With both Stoic and Christian, precept and practice were often at variance. In the realm of legislation, however, we have evidence that the new spirit was beginning to make itself felt. The slave received some legal standing, his natural human rights were more adequately protected, and obstacles to the purchase of freedom increasingly lessened. Beginning with Justinian in the sixth century, the trend toward emancipation evinced itself in a series of enactments in the slave's behalf, in the greater protection afforded the female slave, and in the freedom granted a slave who entered holy orders. It seems that no definite formal declaration against slavery as such appeared before the ninth century when we meet the noble words of St. Theo-

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[3] "Probably, of all practical changes which Christianity has encouraged or commenced in the history of the world, this respect and value for children is the most important as it affects the foundation of all society and government, and influences a far distant future" (C. L. Brace, in *Gesta Christi*, p. 88).

dore of Studium to the effect that no man was to possess a slave in view of the fact that man was made in God's image.

4. The Life of Pleasure. The brutality and licentiousness of Roman games, in which thousands of slaves were literally sacrificed in body and soul for the temporary pleasure of their Roman masters and the populace, were constant objects of attack by both Stoic and Christian humanists. The maxim of Seneca that man ought to be sacred to man was reechoed by later Stoics and must have had its effect, at least upon the educated classes. Perennial castigation by Christian moralists, drastic legislation on the part of later Christian emperors, and the creation of a more humane public opinion were needed before the populace was willing to give up its chief sport. In the East gladiatorial combats were rare after the time of Theodosius (d. 395), while in the West the voluntary sacrifice of the monk Telemachus[4] in 404 in the Roman arena gave to the reform movement the needed impetus to conquer.

Unfortunately, the adverse attitude of the church toward the excesses of pleasure led to the disparagement of the pleasure instinct itself. An ascetic and puritanical spirit hostile to innocent games and sport arose as a foil to the increasing secularization of the church. The humanistic Greek ideal which valued the beauties and amenities of the life of nature, sank beneath the dour, self-repressive, and often repulsive expression of monkish ascetism. Extreme worldliness was followed by extreme other-worldliness. A better balance between the two delayed its appearance until modern times.

5. The Economic World. Christianity is often regarded as so purely spiritual in the narrower sense

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[4] Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, leaped into the arena to separate the gladiators and stop the bloody spectacle. The enraged spectators met the rude interceptor of their pleasures with a shower of stones.

that no vital relation between it and the economic sphere of life can be sustained. This view fails to take account of the allusions of Jesus to economic affairs and the active interest of Church Fathers in economic problems. It is true that as long as the early church held to chiliastic hopes the interests of this world receded into the background and little influence except of a negative sort was exerted upon the vast world of economic forces. But as soon as the church regarded itself as a self-perpetuating institution, became in fact the most prominent adjunct of the empire, this state of affairs gave way to excessive interest in "waiting on tables."

Too often church officials sought to accommodate the stern ethical demands of the New Testament to the convenience of the wealthy and "leading laymen." Despite this obvious deterioration in the application of the ethics of Jesus to the social and economic life, no amount of accommodation could entirely obliterate the New Testament suggestions about an equitable distribution of the goods of this world, nor altogether wipe out the prophetic utterances of Church Fathers about the socializing of property, the trusteeship of wealth, and the positive obligation of the fortunate to come to the aid of the needy.[5]

Concerning the possibility of meeting the problem of poverty by abolishing it, as Aristotle had suggested, comparatively few seers had the vision. Relief measures had been instituted by pagan Roman emperors while mutual aid societies (*collegia*) were organized for the benefit of their respective members. The first attempted solution made matters worse by creating a large group of paupers, while the latter method with all its fine fraternal features helped merely the few who were fortunate enough to belong.

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[5] Hermas, the author of *The Shepherd,* had naïvely suggested that the poor were to pray for the rich while the latter with their wealth were to support the poor.

Charity as we know it was largely the creation of the church. That it met the real issue no one will claim. That charity as such can ever meet the needs which justice alone can satisfy is still less true. So long as multitudes are inexorably bound as with chains to an unsocial social system, some place must be found for charity, and that charity the church attempted to extend, though perhaps with more fervor than wisdom.[6] Hospitals, homes, orphan asylums, strangers' rests, widows' almshouses arose in many parts of the empire as early as the fourth century.

6. Roman Militarism. An empire built up by militarism as well as by law discovered within its bounds an insignificant sect which maintained the political heresy of pacifism. For almost two hundred years Christians generally abstained from the use of force, not merely as a matter of principle in obtaining their own ends, but in their refusal to join the legions of Rome. The earlier Greek Fathers were quite unanimous in their condemnation of war and still more vehement in their contention that true Christianity and war were irreconcilable. The Latin Fathers were not so severe in their censure. We have the judgment in the "Canons of Hippolytus," however, that a Christian ought never to think of becoming a soldier except under compulsion. Cyprian's statement goes even further in its expression of disapproval: "The whole world is wet with mutual blood: and murder which, in the case of an individual, is admitted to be a crime, is called a virtue when it is committed wholesale."[7] So long as Christians maintained their attitude of aloofness toward the social life of the times the ideal of nonresistance was

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[6] Lecky maintained that the church gave to the world many institutions of charity unknown to the pagan world; that the love of Christ rather than the love of man was basic in this profuse benevolence.

[7] Quoted in *The Story of Social Christianity*, vol. I, p. 76, by F. H. Stead.

comparatively easy to espouse, but as soon as the church became a vital part of the war-ridden world, the case of war seemed less heinous, especially when participation in it accrued to the material advantage of the church. So-called defensive war in a righteous cause often received ecclesiastical sanction, and war was even blessed by the church. Again many centuries elapsed before constructive thinking was prepared to eliminate and not merely to mitigate the evil.

B. INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE ROMANIZED TEUTONIC WORLD

Although Christianity was the most potent vitalizing force in the ancient world, it failed to save the Roman Empire. The disintegration of the latter could not, perhaps, have been stayed. That the church failed in its mission because of its inability to prevent the collapse of imperial Rome cannot justly be charged against it. Rome fell because of forces over which the church had little control and because of cancerous growths which had begun to sap the strength of the body politic while the church was still a proscribed sect.

In addition to the "fall of Rome," the influx of the barbarians presented to the Western church a problem of stupendous proportions. This new, virile human stock was needed, but it was still raw, cruel, and revengeful. Training, unifying, and evangelizing these fierce exponents of personal liberty and preparing them for the reception of the ancient culture that had escaped the ravages of cataclysmic upheaval—that constituted the work of the church in the West for centuries. Augustine's suggestive picture of the Two Cities illustrated and partially determined the nature of the task. The City of God (the church) was destined gradually to take over more and more of the functions of life, many of which were still within the confines of the City of Man (the state). Pressed by the necessities of man as well as by the selfish motive of aggrandizement, the church actually assumed an increasing number of obligations until the stage was reached when we may speak of a church-dominated culture and civilization. The story of that ecclesiastical conquest of the spheres in which men live constitutes the major part of mediæval European history.

1. The Church and the Barbarians. The numerous warlike Teutonic tribes needed the molding and the controlling influence which a mysterious and a supernatural institution, such as the church was held to be, succeeded in exerting. In the first place the brutal, disruptive passions needed curbing if future society was to receive any benefit. The Christ spirit gradually tamed the sons of the forest who before had been the terror of mankind. Some of their savagery disappeared while the finer qualities of adventure, daring, and frankness were directed into more humane channels. It cannot be denied that the appeal to fear and dire threats of supernatural judgments were frequently employed to tame the barbarians. That was perhaps the best method of discipline during the Dark Ages. The church was forced to adopt a system of accommodation that did not transcend the mental and emotional level of undeveloped, uncultured human beings.

This system of training, when analyzed, appears extremely crude, but it worked. The schools, from the sixth to the twelfth century, were generally centered in the monasteries, where the monks and clergy alone received a smattering of education. Some of this learning, through the work of Charlemagne, the greatest barbarian son of the church, was transmitted to the laymen. Thus gradually were the rudiments of culture spread to form a substantial basis for the later scholastic movement. The use of one language (the Latin) for ecclesiastical as well as for educational, social, and political purposes wrought mightily for solidarity and assisted in the creation of the ideal of oneness which dominated mediæval thinking.

Influenced by the ideal rather than by the actual, people felt, despite concrete appearances to the contrary, that life was organized around the principle of one church and one state. In organizing thought about this notion of one great human family with God's vicar on earth as the father and directive head, the church contributed greatly to the creation of a common social life. The warring units of the formerly isolated and extremely individualistic Teutonic tribes were merged within the City of God. It was a notable achievement of the church and saved Europe perhaps from that which would have taken its place, a "Mongolian desert" of disruptive anarchy. The emergence of the Holy Roman Empire under Charlemagne and Otto I likewise contributed to make Europe one.

The barbarian codes of law were not only changed and modified through the agency of the church but in some instances displaced by the more elaborate and perfect Roman law system. Justinian's codified Roman jurisprudence came into the possession of the tribes after they had been tutored and evangelized by the church, and largely because of that influence. That this result was not wholly beneficent may be conjectured from the fact that Roman law usually favored the privileged and possessing classes and tended to bring in imperialistic tendencies which at first were alien to the more democratic Teutonic customs.

The chief result of Christianity's impact upon the barbarians was their evangelization. The rapidity and the ease with which the new religion was substituted for the old was due to their extreme individualism and to their lack of respect for traditionalism as associated with institutions of long standing. Accepting the new meant in most instances accepting it all, religion as well as civilization. It also meant the adulteration of Christianity, as many of the old superstitions of pagan life were incorporated with the religion of the conquered Romans. It was not religion in its purest form, but it was a religion which temporarily met the needs of the time and which may be seen as a preparation for the higher type. Superstitions grew apace and often found lodgment within the church. The church as centered in Rome tamed, trained, and "churched" the barbarian tribes not merely because of some intrinsic superiority which may freely be acknowledged, but as much because of expedient accommodations, utilitarian compromises, and wise adaptation to the immediate needs of those held in spiritual tutelage.

2. The Impact of the Church upon Feudalism. The economic, social, and political system of "organized anarchy" known as feudalism was materially affected by the influence of the church system, as also by the Christian spirit. In the first place, its centrifugal tendencies were held in check by the centralizing powers of the church. Had it not been for this check, sometimes tyrannically applied, it is true, the inherent disintegrating tendencies of feudalism might have transformed western and northern Europe into a wilderness.

This naturally leads to the question of war, for which the system in question had a pronounced affinity. The organized religion of the Prince of Peace does not stand up so well in this regard in the Middle Ages as in the ancient period. Strife was frequently stirred up by the church, wars of exceptional ferocity were incited by various prelates, the pope included, and a number of "holy" crusades were preached. Selfish ecclesiastical interests, the identification of religion with institutionalism, and the paganized hearts of some church officials explain the prevalence and the virility of the war spirit. On the other hand, the atrocities invariably associated with war were largely diminished through the efforts of the church. Treatment of prisoners and certain methods of conducting warfare were humanized. Arbitration was set forth as a possible solution and as a chivalrous method of settling war problems. Attempts were made, weak, haphazard, and local, it is true, but attempts they were, to mitigate the horrors of war by limiting the days in which private feuds were permissible.[8]

Moreover, the ideals of chivalry, carefully fostered by the church, tended to soften the asperities of warfare. They introduced humanizing elements which were greatly needed even though theory and practice were often poles apart. A "parfit, gentle knight," consecrated by church rites to mercy, courtesy, and pity, could indulge in the most bloody acts of revenge, greed, or lust. But the presence of the ideal served to chasten the fierce passions of men, seen in such noble examples as Godfrey of Bouillon, who, as king of Jerusalem, after the completion of the First Crusade, refused to wear a crown since his Master had worn the thorns, and the knightly Saint Louis of France, who would do no conscious injury to any man. The ideal as it gleamed from the pages of romances connected with the Round Table of King Arthur, must have reflected in a measure the spirit to which knights aspired.

To this must be added the protection of woman and the uplifting of the feminine ideal, which were integral phases of chivalry. The old Teutonic regard for woman was undoubtedly a stimulating factor. Despite the false standard of a dual morality which the extreme ascetism of the monkish type inculcated, this neutralizing influence of the ideal of pure womanhood, reflected in the Cult of the Virgin and in the protection of women on many occasions in the monastic life from the lust of the nobility, undoubtedly raised the status of woman. Depreciation of normal home life by the superior sanctity attached to celibate life was counteracted by the approval of marriage as sacred in the proclamation of it as a sacrament and hence indissoluble. The spirit of chivalry again came to the support of one section of the church, or shall we say that the social ideal, never entirely submerged in the church, came to the support of the chivalric ideal of respect for womanhood? As a result of this twofold tendency womankind was disparaged in the thinking of church leaders who upheld asceticism, but in the persons of Joan of Arc, Catherine of Siena, or the mothers of Anselm and Bernard, womanhood unveiled a nobility, public usefulness, self-sacrifice, and loving service such as any age might covet. In this realm of life the church is thus found to have been both an asset and a liability. Chivalry too had its drawbacks in its promotion of puerilities, its selfish regard for one class, and its stimulation of bigotry.

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[8] The "Truce of God" in the eleventh century was a step in advance because it reflected the faint trend toward a nobler ideal. It offered only a slight check to the militaristic spirit. The "Peace of the Land" (King's peace), with the authority of public-spirited rulers behind it, was a further attempt to bring some measure of relief to the harassed land.

Not only woman, but the weak, the helpless, the serfs in short, found a protection and opportunity within the church often denied them elsewhere. Two considerations are of moment here. The church did little for the actual liberation of the serf or slave in an attempt to destroy the system, but much was done to make his lot bearable and to extend his rights. The practice of individual liberation received churchly commendation, and yet the serfs on church lands were the last to receive freedom. The teaching that Christ died for the lowest member of the church as well as for the highest gradually sank into the consciousness of the nobler spirits of the age. In some instances slaves became serfs with a large measure of freedom. In others, serfs were either freed or treated like freemen. That much remained to be done can be seen in the numerous peasant outbreaks and their violent suppression.

In the church alone did the serf have the least opportunity of attaining to power and influence. As the lowest class in the social order, his station seemed irrevocably fixed; as a son of the church he sometimes gained the highest distinction. The rise of the moneyed middle class, the growth of independent towns and city-states, as well as the overtures sometimes made in his direction by rival factions within the state, indirectly served the cause of the peasant. The spread of learning and the increase of literacy opened up to him at firsthand the revolutionary portions of the Bible, from which he also imbibed the spirit of liberty and equality. For various reasons slavery gradually lost its hold upon the peoples of Europe until reintroduced by the slave trade of modern times. Serfdom, however, lived on in some form, less in the Scandinavian lands and Britain than in the central portions of Europe, with its latest expression in Russia.[9]

The influence of law, both civil and canon, was also instrumental in regulating life along more humane lines. The Canonists had extreme views about the social nature of property and about its distribution for the good of the people. To use a modern phrase, they upheld property for use, but opposed property for power. Christian stewardship was stressed. Aquinas goes so far as to assert that no man ought to possess more than he can actually use for himself. Extreme human need, he affirmed, may even demand that all things be made common. The rapid growth of the commercial spirit, however, especially in the following period, commercialized the teaching of the church so that in some particulars it lost the prophetic note. The control of vast landed estates by the mediæval Catholic Church likewise superimposed a materialistic impress upon ecclesiastical teaching which went far toward neutralizing the beneficial effects that might have followed the application of the Canonists' doctrines.

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[9] Abolished by act of the Tsar in 1861.

The mediæval church continued in more varied ways the works of charity which the ancient church had instituted. Not only were the poor relieved, but poverty itself was often magnified as a Christian grace. Saint Francis commended it to laymen in the organization of his third order and thereby created a social revolution which made for democracy, for social service, and for a vital type of lay Christianity. The support which the church freely gave to the organization of guilds had a similar result, although interests of a purely secular nature were predominant.

The world of beauty found the church responsive within only a limited sphere. Where art could be utilized in the interests of religion, in the symbolical representation of Christian truth, there it was sedulously promoted. Art for art's sake was discountenanced. But the creation of the Holy Madonna in painting marks an epoch in the realm of art. And in architecture the Gothic type needs but to be mentioned to indicate the creative work accomplished in that noble sphere of human activity.

A glance into the thirteenth century and at its brilliant creations of soul and mind sets forth the church in its greatest splendor of achievement and in its passionate care of human need. Unfortunately the vision of the one human family inspired by religion and guided by reason did not last. And we must hold the church in its papal and hierarchical aspects largely responsible for the fading of the dream. The fourteenth century brought a relapse; the fifteenth introduced new forces; and the sixteenth ushered in revolt and permanent schism.

This study would not be fair were all reference to the outstanding evil results of the church's impact upon society to be omitted. Some of the reasons may be suggested why more was not accomplished in the cure of human evils. The stupendous task confronting the church was made doubly difficult because of the chaotic conditions during the Dark Ages, because of the paganization of large areas of life, and because of certain evils either supported or condoned by the church. A brief treatment of these must suffice.

In accepting the judicial duel in courts of judgment the church not only allowed all sorts of superstitious practices to arise in connection with ordeals by water, fire, the sacrament, and wager of battle, but helped to reverse the old Roman principle that the burden of proof should rest on the accuser, not on the defendant. Innocence was undoubtedly frequently crucified on a cross of rank superstition. To the credit of the church, the wager of battle was often condemned by popes and synods. This checked its use. The ordeal, however, continued to flourish despite later opposition by enlightened ecclesiastics and the use of the revived Roman law by mercantile groups.

The darkest blot upon the church was caused by the employment of torture for the extraction of evidence. This led to the creation of the most hideous instrument ever utilized in connection with religion. The terrible Inquisition, nursed by intolerance and fed by bigotry, proved to be a curse to the cause of religion, though it proved extremely effectual in extending the tyrannical sway of the hierarchy. Orthodoxy was defended at the price of its soul. Whatever may be stated in extenuation of the church or the church officials who saw heresy as a social cancer that had to submit to a surgical operation, the Inquisition represents the church in the most unfavorable light in its relation to human progress. It was a denial of the religion of the Christ and a retrogression in civilization. Not until humanistic progress and spiritual advance brought toleration of opinion and deeper regard for personality could this monster of iniquity be overthrown.

In these rapid sketches it is manifestly impossible to include all the factors making for uplift and advance. Suffice it to say that survivals of the ancient culture combined with various economic, social, and political strands to support and strengthen the forces of progress.

C. The Impact of Protestantism Upon Modern Life

For the modern period Protestantism has been singled out, not as constituting real Christianity, but as being its characteristic expression. Catholicism is essentially mediæval and consciously anti-modernistic. Protestantism, in its basic concepts of individualism and religious liberty, has stronger affinities for the modern spirit. It must be granted, however, that the older communion has taken on some of the narrower individualistic elements of the daughter faith.

1. Individualism and the Narrowing Way. That both great camps of the divided church accomplished so little in the general uplift of man in his social relations was due in some measure to the narrowing effect each had upon the other. Catholicism lost some of its mediæval expansiveness and social vision, while Protestantism failed to see the larger social truth in its feverish desire to nourish the plant of individualism. The relation which each sustained to the Renaissance is indicative of the trend which was to become more or less dominant. Repudiating its intimate alliance with humanism because of the latter's apparent sympathy with the Protestant "heresy," especially in the north of Europe, Catholicism not only cramped its own humanistic outlook but created in humanism itself a distrust for organized religion. About the same time came the defection of a group of these "new-thought" exponents from the Protestant cause. The world of culture which had been sheltered by and interpenetrated

with the spirit of organized religion henceforth developed an increasing anti-church complex, again to the impoverishment of both. In the realm of the mind, it must be granted, the first effects of the sixteenth century revolt were distressing and limiting.

The results of the impact of a more intense and "spiritual" Christianity upon all spheres of life were not what they might have been, had the great principle of individual initiative been properly hedged about by social checks. As we shall see, exaggerated individualism not only made religion "a little private transaction of a strictly confidential nature between man and his God," but it brought forth a whole brood of sects whose persistent warfare nullified the principle of catholicity. In the economic field it wrought havoc by giving religious support to the doctrine of "laissez-faire." In the political realm progress ultimately came with the extension of liberty to the individual man, yet in the sharp separation of church and state the latter was too frequently fenced off as if it were beyond the pale of moral and religious requirements. Nationalism, indeed, has become to many the new religion, the Great Ultimate, whose commands have all the sanctity and absolute finality that the mediæval Church-State ever arrogated to itself. Here likewise Protestantism failed to enforce the moral check which mediæval Catholicism sought to register against secular aggression. In short, despite notable and noble exceptions, the church in the modern era lent itself too easily to the separation of vast areas of human life from all ethical and religious sanctions.[10]

2. The Solution of Social Problems. A brief reference to the contact of organized Christianity with certain concrete social problems will furnish a brighter picture of the power that resides in religion when the conscience is aroused and a sanctified com-

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[10] Cf. the phrases—"Business is business" and "Politics is politics."

mon sense is applied. It must be said, however, that the social evils were approached from the individualistic side. They were condemned because inimical to the souls' interest of the individuals concerned. They were attacked because they placed a barrier, a slough of despond, athwart the pilgrim's journey to heaven. But they were attacked, and their hold upon mankind perceptibly weakened.

a. Philanthropy. All branches of the church have remained true to the historic past in their efforts to relieve distress, uplift the fallen, succor the needy, and cure the sick. The vast number of homes of refuge, homes for the aged, the infirm and the orphaned, hospitals and dispensaries, witness to the growing humanitarian spirit, the chief cause of which was the Evangelical Revival. The spirit of sympathy combined with a sacred regard for human personality, characteristic of the unorthodox rationalists as well as of orthodox churchmen, inevitably changed the status of the unfortunate in the eyes of their more fortunate fellow men. This humanization has even enfolded the animal world in its scope.

The feeling of pity generated by religion, united with the scientific approach to the problem of crime, has modified prison life and made of the prisoner himself a human being to be reformed and not merely a convenient object upon which society could vent its anger. John Howard, the prophet of this new reform, was directly inspired by religion. The dehumanizing punishment of the former day tends to be displaced by humanizing remedial treatment.

Relief of poverty, for centuries regarded as an act of justice, then of mercy, has now become in the minds of recent social prophets a constructive effort to find a cure for the evil itself. But in this, as in other forward-looking social programs, the church at large still is woefully deficient in vision. Spiritual astigmatism, brought on by the strain of an extreme individualistic emphasis, blinds the eyes of the rank and file to the immoral inequalities and the inhuman iniquities still embedded in our social system, the presence of which partly accounts for the soul-destroying poverty that must concern a church interested in souls.

b. The Elevation of the Home. Christian influence in the making of a happy home life has been most marked, perhaps, in the present age. The long sway of the monastic ideal tended to the depreciation of the marriage relationship. Then came Luther's vindication of the normal Christian life as lived in the establishment of a home, followed by the Puritan stress upon the equality of all members within the home—wife and child, elect by God's grace, being regarded as no whit below the father of the household. Due to many causes, not the least of which is the Christian spirit, woman after a protracted struggle has gained a position of parity with man, legally and socially. A comparison of her status with that of her sister in non-Christian lands suggests the progress already made, and the possibilities ahead when law, intelligence, the humane spirit, and Christianity unite for the accomplishment of reform. In opposition to the double standard of morality, to all forms of concubinage and unnatural vice, Christianity has raised a voice that has made itself heard, though the real struggle for the actual eradication of the social evil has only just begun.

c. Intemperance and Gambling. The earlier attitude of the church was not so unequivocal in the matter of temperance as we now usually find it to be. When parsons drank spirituous liquors and received rum as part payment of salary, when high church officials owned brewery stock, the cause of temperance lagged. Recent progress, issuing in the prohibition movement, has enabled the church in this land to become the chief agency in an epoch-making victory for sobriety. In the majority of other countries efforts to abate the liquor traffic are proceeding, but more slowly.

Gambling has been restricted in its cruder forms, and in large sections of the public has become taboo. The church has not been consistent as regards this evil, for lotteries and raffles were long indulged in by ecclesiastical groups. Problems arising from the indulgence of the pleasure instinct have not always received satisfactory solution. The pendulum has often swung from ascetic opposition to overindulgent negligence. At present many churches are dealing with the problem with all due regard to the just and worthy satisfaction of the play instinct and the social impulse, and the necessity of making provision for physical, mental, and emotional release.

d. The Relation of Races and Nations. Although essential Christianity symbolizes brotherhood, actual Christianity has frequently upheld racial antipathies. The fact that so-called Christian nations became involved in slavery after its dissolution in the age of the Renaissance, that the Christian conscience wavered so long on the question of its ethics, and that churches and Christian ministers openly upheld the institution as divine and permanent, constitutes a blot upon the historic church which no extenuating circumstances can obliterate. On the other hand, the final abolition of this curse among Western nations must be ascribed to an aroused Christian conscience, a conscience, however, that was not always found within the walls of the orthodox church. Slavery of the old type has gone, only to be replaced by new expressions, as the color line is sharply drawn, and white Nordic supremacy threatens a new world upheaval.

The relations between national groups are just as strained and provocative as those between racial groups. This is largely due to the fact that these relations have not been moralized. In many instances racial pride is joined with a hypernationalism in the generation of the most un-Christian attitudes imaginable. Whereas the mediæval church had categorically declared for the superiority of the moral law over all human enactment in the interrelation of communal and national groups, the modern church's apathy allowed, almost without protest, a jungle growth of Machiavellian principles to develop in the field of international relationships. Some slight gains may be noted since the time of Grotius in the milder treatment accorded prisoners of war and their unconditional release at the close of war; in the extension of the practice of arbitration; in the gradual abolition of privateering; in the protection afforded non-belligerents; and in the partial acceptance of the principle, illogical perhaps but springing from humane sentiment, that war is between governments and not individuals.

It is only within recent years that the church has awakened to the urgency and the seriousness of the war problem. While a few small Christian groups and a small number of rationalistic thinkers, to cite only Kant and Rousseau, spoke with no uncertain sound against the "world's chief collective evil," the larger church was silent. When the World War came, the church was unprepared. However, prophetic leaders within the churches must be given credit for the creation of a more passionate hatred of war and for a more comprehensive view of the necessity of finding a moral equivalent for war. Neither can the meed of praise be withheld from movements like the League of Nations and the Hague Tribunal and from individuals often outside orthodox Christianity, such as Tolstoy, Gandhi, Jane Addams, and many socialists.

e. The Relation of Classes. In the great world of industry, so radically changed with the advent of the power machine, the influence of the church has been marked in spots only, and then frequently after other agencies had begun the work of reform. When modern industrialism forged out of human greed and selfishness a new enslavement of the masses, the church was unprepared to meet the perplexing social issues which this development created. That was due for the most part to a misunderstanding of the social nature of personality and to a lack of vision of the social nature of Christianity. The Protestant emphasis upon individualism, its rejection of canon law which had embodied a commitment to a just price and condemnation of usury, its stress upon the sacredness of a man's calling (Beruf), its frequent identification of success with righteousness, its preachment through Puritanism of the apotheosis of work and thrift with its corollary of the sinfulness of waste and idleness, its religious sanction of material gain, its scriptural warrant for the divine right of private property, and, finally, its blindness to the iniquities associated with exploitation of the economically weak, served to give capitalism and the amassing of great wealth the support of religion and the blessings of the church.

Wesley had a glimpse of the real problem, Shaftesbury labored gloriously but almost alone for righteousness, the Christian Socialism of Maurice and others prepared the way, until in the modern emphasis upon the social aspects of the Christian message both science and religion are marshaled into service in the attempt to create a new social order. Copec[11] and Stockholm in Europe, social creeds and movements in America resulting in the famous Steel Report and other investigations and proposals, are merely indicative of the fact that Christianity is dedicating itself to the cause of the Kingdom. Christian influence upon such labor groups as the British Labor party with its high idealism is a fact of prime importance. Hand in hand with this development went an emphasis upon stewardship and philanthropic effort which sought to soften the asperities and heal some of the cruelties produced by the rapid expansion of industrialism.

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[11] See p. 391.

The discussion thus far has primarily dealt with western Europe and America, which have become rapidly modernized. In the Orient within more limited areas the influence of Christianity has been perhaps proportionately larger than in the Occident. Not only the basic ideas and the mores of Western civilization, but the spirit which Christianity is generating, constitute the chief reconstructing forces in the Far East. That the identification of the two has wrought harm cannot be denied. When the church has stood upon its own feet, exemplified the spirit of humility and service, and has been willing to lose its sectarian life for the Kingdom's sake, Christianity has been most helpful. In such instances Christ, a son of Asia, has become the Light of Asia.

In the retrospect of history an analysis of the causes of human progress will take cognizance of many factors and agencies besides those for which Christianity has been responsible. Outside of organized Christianity one cannot fail to note the powerful spiritual influence of Hebraism; of Mohammedanism, and other Oriental faiths; the potent humanizing influence of the ancient classicism in its manifold expressions; the stabilizing influence of Roman law; the stimulating dynamic in the Teutonic strain; the civilizing potencies released in the civic groupings of men in city, state, and nation; the intellectual emancipation in the rationalistic and critical movements; the widening spheres and opening worlds through the advance of the scientific spirit; and the enrichment of the inner man as well as the expansion of soul through the achievements in art, music, and literature. Yet in the making of the Western Mind and Heart, Christianity has occupied a foremost place among the forces enumerated. That not more was accomplished was due to a number of facts, not the least among which was the presence within the church of many anti-Christian tenets, attitudes, and motivations. The obvious desideratum, so far as church history may reveal it, is, therefore, a further and more thoroughgoing Christianization of the church. That the centrality of Christ in the world of thought and practice is being given ever wider significance justifies our hope in the increasing value of the Christian Church to the modern world.

> "Think not the Faith by which the just shall live
> Is a dead creed, a map correct of heaven,
> Far less a feeling fond and fugitive,
> A thoughtless gift, withdrawn as soon as given;
> It is an affirmation and an act
> That bids eternal truth be present fact."[12]
>
> —Hartley Coleridge.

[12] Quoted in A. B. D. Alexander's *The Thinkers of the Church*, p. 252.

A WORKING LIBRARY

The appended list of books is given for the purpose of aiding the beginner in further study. It may also be helpful to clergymen and to teachers in class instruction. With a few exceptions only those books have been chosen which are the least expensive, most easily accessible, and which appear to be the most serviceable for the purposes indicated above. Larger works and source material for the advanced student are not included. They may be found listed in the bibliographical suggestions at the end of Walker's *History of the Christian Church.*

A. General Works

Encyclopædias may always be consulted with profit, especially the *Encyclopædia for Religion and Ethics, The Encyclopædia Britannica,* and for the Catholic approach to historical questions, *The Catholic Encyclopædia. A Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion,* edited by G. B. Smith (Chicago, 1916), is valuable for its extensive bibliographies and its suggestions for more intensive study. A larger work of real literary and artistic merit, as well as scholarly insight, is *An Outline of Christianity* (5 volumes, New York, 1926). This is edited by E. F. Scott, F. J. Foakes-Jackson, Shailer Mathews, Francis J. McConnell, and John H. Finley.

B. Surveys of Church History

Of the larger one-volume outlines of church history the best for general purposes is perhaps, *A History of the Christian Church,* by Williston Walker (New York, 1918). *The History of the Christian Church,* by George P. Fisher (New York, 1913), is also valuable. With greater emphasis upon the doctrinal development and more interpretative is *Christianity in History,* by J. Vernon Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle (London, 1917).

The history of early Christian thought with special reference to its modern implications is treated in *The Continuity of Christian Thought,* by Alexander V. G. Allen (Boston, new ed., 1894). The anti-Augustinian positions in the latter book may be checked by reading *The Thinkers of the Church,* by Archibald B. D. Alexander (London, 1924).

Builders of the Church, by Robert Tucker (New York, 1924), is a more popular treatise of a biographical nature. Similar in treatment with special reference to the modern period is *Modern Pathfinders of Christianity,* by H. K. Rowe (New York, 1928).

A study of Christianity in relation to its environment and to the great social problems of the past and present is given in *Gesta Christi,* by Charles Loring Brace (New York, 4th ed., 1884). A slightly different approach is found in the more recent and larger work, *The Story of Social Christianity,* by Francis Herbert Stead (2 volumes, London and New York, 1924).

C. A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR VARIOUS PERIODS

1. The Early Church. Perhaps the best introductory work for the background of the Christian movement is *The Environment of Early Christianity,* by Samuel Angus (New York, 1915). For the apostolic age and the founding of the church consult *The First Age of Christianity,* by Ernest F. Scott (New York, 1926); or *The Evolution of Early Christianity,* by S. J. Case (Chicago, 1914). The continuation of the story to the end of the so-called ancient period is well presented in *The History of the Christian Church to 461 A. D.,* by F. J. Foakes-Jackson (5th ed., London, 1909).

2. The Middle Ages. The student will find a very readable introduction to the mediæval period in the

book, *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages,* by Ephraim Emerton (Boston, 1894). The history of the church in the West is graphically told in *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages,* by André Lagarde (New York, 1908). A classic in its treatment of the relation between church and state is *The Holy Roman Empire,* by James Bryce (new ed., London, 1904).

3. The Reformation. The best treatment of the Reformation in one volume is *The Age of the Reformation,* by Preserved Smith (New York, 1920). Another work with a wealth of material is *A History of the Reformation,* by T. M. Lindsay (2 volumes, New York, 1906, 1907). A valuable mine of information in a comparative study between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism is the book, *Our Fathers' Faith and Ours,* by David S. Schaff (New York, 1928).

4. The Modern Era. It is more difficult to find books which give adequate treatment to the post-Reformation and modern period. For the development of Christian thought and the rise of modern religious ideas the student will find a comprehensive and well-written treatment in *The Shaping Forces of Modern Religious Thought,* by Archibald B. D. Alexander (Glasgow, 1920). See also *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas,* by A. C. McGiffert (New York, 1915).

One of the outstanding Christian movements of the modern era is presented in *The Church and the Puritans,* by H. O. Wakeman (London, 1911). For the post-Reformation development of independent religious groups in England see *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth,* by Robert Barclay (London, 1879). This book stresses the Quaker movement. A larger work which includes other nonconformist religious communions is *History of English Non-Conformity,* by Henry W. Clark (2 volumes, London, 1911, 1913).

A brief treatment of German Pietism in its relation to the Evangelical Revival in England is found in *Pietism and Methodism,* by A. W. Nagler (Nashville, 1918). A fascinating account of the Methodist movement is found in *The Story of Methodism,* by H. E. Luccock and Paul Hutchinson (New York, 1926). The Anglican revival in the nineteenth century is ably presented in *The Oxford Movement,* by R. W. Church (London, 1891).

5. America. The best history of Christianity in the United States is *A History of American Christianity,* by L. W. Bacon (New York, 1921). A treatment of the same subject, more interpretative than descriptive, is *The History of Religion in the United States,* by H. K. Rowe (New York, 1924). For a small manual with special reference to the various denominations, consult *Our American Churches,* by W. W. Sweet (New York, 1924). A comprehensive study of present-day Protestantism in America is found in *The Church in America,* by W. A. Brown (New York, 1922).

D. BOOKS DEALING WITH INSTITUTIONS AND MOVEMENTS

The story of the creedal development in the church is interestingly told in *A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith,* by William A. Curtis (Edinburgh, 1911). For the heretical tendencies consult *The Church's Debt to Heretics,* by Rufus M. Jones (New York, 1924). A short, concise history of the papal institution is presented in *The Papacy: the Idea and Its Exponents,* by Gustav Krüger (English trans., New York, 1909). Monasticism is sympathetically discussed in *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal,* by H. B. Workman (London, 1913). The expansion of Christianity finds a succinct treatment in *History of Christian Missions,* by Charles H. Robinson (New York, 1915); and its modern phase in *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World,* by E. C. Moore (Chicago, 1919). A brief historical survey of Christendom's divisions and church union efforts is given in *An Introduction to the Study of Efforts at Christian Reunion,* by A. C. Bouquet (Cambridge, 1914).

The student will find a valuable guide into the vast field of history in the suggestions offered by W. Watkins Davies and Edwin W. Pahlow in the manual, *How to Read History* (New York, 1924).

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